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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Finance Ministry Announces Prices, Tariffs Freed *[ATA]* 1
Radio-TV Workers Strike, Call for Restructuring *[ATA]* 1
Foreign Minister Kapllani Holds Talks in Germany 1
Meets Genscher, Signs Agreement *[ATA]* 1
Visits Berlin, Meets With Mayor *[ATA]* 2

BULGARIA

WEU's Van Eekelen Mects Dimitrov, Mutafchiev *[BTA]* 3
Tomov Asks Soviet Expert for Chernobyl Documents *[BTA]* 3
Energy Official on State of Kozloduy Power Plant *[Sofia Radio]* 4
SDS Nominates Dimitrov as Prime Minister *[BTA]* 4
SDS To Submit Bill Confiscating BSP Property *[BTA]* 4
BSP Legislative Faction Leaders Elected *[BTA]* 4
Liberal Party Formed; Simeonov Elected Chairman *[BTA]* 5
Zhelev Views Election Results, Political Scene *[BTA]* 5
SDS's Dimitrov Views Postelection Situation *[POGLED 21 Oct]* 6
DPS Leader Discuss Party's History, Role *[POGLED 28 Oct]* 7
Popov Assesses Government's Achievements *[BTA]* 7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel on Bratislava Events, 3 Nov Hradecek Talks *[Prague Radio]* 9
Talks Begin; Havel's Federation Proposal Released *[CSTK]* 11
Communique Issued After Talks *[CSTK]* 13
Carnogursky on Sovereignty Declaration, EC *[Bratislava Radio]* 13
Klaus Outlines Possible 1992 Budget Alternatives
[CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 30 Oct] 14

HUNGARY

Defense Spokesman on SFRY Attack Against Ships *[Budapest Radio]* 15
SFRY Embassy Issues Communique on Barcs *[MTI]* 15
Ministry Responds to SFRY Claims *[Budapest Radio]* 15
Goncz: Attack 'An Accident' *[MTI]* 15
IMF Official Calls For Smaller Budget Deficit *[Budapest Radio]* 16
FKgP Deputy Faction Leader Criticizes Torgyan *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 30 Oct]* 16
NDSZ's Biro Discusses Tasks, Prospects *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 30 Oct]* 16

POLAND

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Treaty Discussed *[TRYBUNA SLASKA 28 Oct]* 18
UD Meets To Create Pro-Reform Coalition *[Warsaw TV]* 18
Walesa Adviser on Interview in Washington Daily *[Warsaw TV]* 18
Walesa Says Non-Voters Will Support Reforms *[Warsaw Radio]* 19
Walesa, Bielecki Discuss Government Work *[Warsaw Radio]* 19
Social Democrat Leader Sees No Walesa Support *[Vienna KURIER 3 Nov]* 19
KPN Leader Favors Autonomy From Soviets, West *[Vienna KURIER 3 Nov]* 20

ROMANIA

Iliescu, Stolojan Report Local Elections Delay *[Bucharest Radio]* 21
Domestic, Foreign Trust in Stolojan Cabinet Seen *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 25 Oct]* 21
Patriciu on PL Withdrawal From Reform Charter *[ROMPRES]* 22
Commission President on Harghita-Covasna Report *[ADEVARUL 25 Oct]* 22
Article Criticizes Defense Council's Power *[DREPTATEA 24 Oct]* 23
Remarks by Moldova's Muravschi, Iliescu, Stolojan *[Bucharest Radio]* 24
Iliescu Receives NATO's General Eide *[ROMPRES]* 25
Melescanu Receives Eide *[ROMPRES]* 25
Nastase Returns From Asia, Makes Statement *[ROMPRES]* 25

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Minister Questions EC Sanctions Against Serbia *[TANJUG]* 27
NIN: EC 'Condemned' Serbia 'Without a Hearing' *[TANJUG]* 27
Greek Foreign Minister Samaras Holds Consultations 27
Meets With Serbia's Milosevic *[TANJUG]* 27
Holds Talks With Loncar *[TANJUG]* 27
Meets With Kadijevic *[AFP]* 28
Italy's Cossiga, Kucan Hold Unofficial Meeting *[TANJUG]* 28
Kucan Assesses Cossiga Visit *[Ljubljana Radio]* 28

Federal

Presidency Accepts Special Status for Croat Serbs *[TANJUG]* 29
Presidency Demands End to Croatian Crimes *[TANJUG]* 29
Defense Ministry Rejects Accusations of Cowardice *[TANJUG]* 30
Army Confirms Croatian Forces Using Poison Gas *[TANJUG]* 30

Slovenia

Parties Reach Consensus on New Constitution *[DELO 28 Oct]* 30

Croatia

Supreme State Council Statement on Hague Plan *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Ministries Statement on Croat Party of Rights *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Mesic Threatens Croats Will Seize Parts of Serbia *[TANJUG]* 32
Croat Forces Incursion Into Serbia 'Disinformation' *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Zagreb Defenses Suffer 'Most Ferocious Attack Ever' *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Mesic Welcomes Dubrovnik Convoy in Rijeka *[TANJUG]* 33
Army Withdraws Dubrovnik Stabilization Proposal *[TANJUG]* 33
Army Threatens Steps To Force Dubrovnik Surrender *[Zagreb TV]* 33
Fierce Artillery Attack 4 Nov *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Army Launches 'Final Operations' Against Vukovar *[TANJUG]* 34
Fighting in Western Slavonia 'Intensifying' 34
5,000 Refugees Flee Bilogora *[Belgrade Radio]* 34
Major Croatian Offensive Reported *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
Army Reopens Posavina-Pokuplja-Banija Front *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Fierce Fighting Reported Around Vinkovci *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Air Force Hits Virovitica With Cluster Bomb *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Army Says Croats Open Fire on Banja Luka Corps *[TANJUG]* 36
Croat Forces Link Virovitica-Grubisino Polje Road *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
YPA Says Croatian Soldiers Shackled in Trenches *[TANJUG]* 36

Serbia

Opposition Urges Milosevic To Accept Hague Plan *[TANJUG]* 36

Vojvodina Territorial Defense on Mobilization *[TANJUG]* 37
Novi Sad Army Command Issues Mobilization Order *[TANJUG]* 37
Rugova Cited on Kosovo Albanians' Visits Abroad *[Belgrade Radio]* 37

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Bosnia-Army Agreement on Communications Links *[TANJUG]* 38
Uzice Army Command Statement Upsets Neum Citizens *[Sarajevo Radio]* 38

Montenegro

Upper Limit of Mobilization Reached in Republic *[TANJUG]* 38
Liberals Send 'Sharply Worded' Letter to Kadijevic *[TANJUG]* 38

Macedonia

Assembly President: No Reason for Army To Intervene *[TANJUG]* 39
Gligorov Leaves for Brief Visit to Libya *[TANJUG]* 39

Finance Ministry Announces Prices, Tariffs Freed

AU0211164291 Tirana ATA in English 1309 GMT 2 Nov 91

["Announcement of the Ministry of Finances on the Liberalization of Prices and Tariffs;" date not given]

[Text] Tirana, November 2 (ATA) — In the framework of the implementation of the economic reform and the enhancement of the self-action level of all the enterprises, with the approval of the Council of Ministers, proceeding from November 1, 1991, the sales prices and tariffs of a part of the produced articles and services will be liberalized. The products and services of the heavy industry, construction, transport etc., will circulate among the various branches of the economy with liberalised prices and a part of them with augmented but controlled prices.

This liberalization does not include the retail sale prices of many food and industrial items and tariffs of services for the people, which make up approximately 70-80 per cent of the family budget, utilized to meet the daily vital needs.

Radio-TV Workers Strike, Call for Restructuring

AU0411093491 Tirana ATA in English 0859 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 4 (ATA)—The opposition newspapers have published a statement of the Independent Trade Union of the Albanian Radio-Television which declared a general strike on November 1. This statement which provides the reasons of launching the strike says among others that the Independent Trade Union of the Albanian Radio-Television, after its creation had as its goal to start the work for creating gradually normal working conditions, the solution to the problems existing since the time of the single party rule, to restore the honour of this institution, as the only powerful means for national information, to observe all the rights belonging to the working people, to do away with the party tendencies etc. It is of the opinion that this might be solved with a full restructuring in the RTV pyramid by the general department. This request was not taken into consideration even during the 9 months after the officials of this institution from the CC of the PLA took office.

Under these circumstances the Independent Trade Union of the RTV is convinced that this institution will solve its problems and will be in service of the nation, when it will be run by skilful and honest managers, depoliticised with a restructured platform in the new conditions of a democratic state and pluralist society. The trade union has addressed the parliament and president several times to solve these problems.

Therefore, after observing all set schedules, proceeding from democratic, tolerating and understanding positions, it went on a general strike on November 1, 1991. The strike will be suspended the announced demands by the trade unions being fulfilled.

Foreign Minister Kapllani Holds Talks in Germany

Meets Genscher, Signs Agreement

AU0311150891 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 1 (ATA)— On October 31, the foreign minister of the Republic of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, arrived in Bonn on an official friendly visit where he conducted a series of official activities .

During the meeting with the German foreign minister, Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Muhamet Kapllani stressed that the Republic of Albania wishes to develop as fruitful relations as possible with Germany and expressed the confidence of the Albanian people and government that these relations will develop in all the fields. Mr. Kapllani thanked German Government for the political support and economic aid it has given and gives to Albania for the further development of democracy.

On his part, the German foreign minister said among the other things that Germany attentively follows the developments in Albania and is confident that it will overcome the difficulties it is currently coming across. On our part, he said, we will back up the democratic development in Albania. Germany hails Albania's participation in the European activities. Mr. Genscher said that this agreement paves the way to the all-sided development of concrete relations.

They also talked on the Yugoslav crisis and the threat it poses to the Balkans and Europe. Genscher explained the attitude of the European Community and Germany. He expected that reason dominate, otherwise we will have to impose embargo on Serbia. The Albanian minister said among others that when it is about the Yugoslav crisis there can no correct and peaceful solution of it without the Albanians in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

On October 31, 1991 the agreement was signed in Bonn between the Republic of Albania and the Federal Republic of Germany for the mutual encouragement and protection of investments. The agreement was signed for the Albanian side by the foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, and for the German side by the deputy chancellor and federal minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

This agreement creates the legal conditions for the penetration of German investments in different [word indistinct] and sectors of the economy of our country, which will give a great development to the economic cooperation between our two countries. This agreement guarantees to the investors legal conditions conform the international rules and practices.

In continuation of his visit to Bonn, the Albanian foreign minister was received in Bundestag by the chairman of the Foreign Commission of this parliament, Mr. Hans Stercken.

Both sides considered the negotiations fruitful and useful. Mr. Stercken said that the German public opinion is conscious of the transitory difficult economic situation of Albania and this is also the attitude of German parliament, which knows and supports the democratic processes in Albania. The Albanian minister underlined that he deems it as a duty to point out that the previous regime in Albania could not realise the importance of relations with Germany, thus becoming a hindrance to and freezing them. Today democracy being established in Albania opens new vistas to these relations. On his part, Mr. Stercken underlined that those peoples, as the Albanians, who are conscious of the values of genuine freedom, should not be left alone at difficult moments. He declared that at the next meeting of the European Parliament, he will explain the content of the talks with the Albanian minister concerning the need of supporting the reforms in Albania and its real integration in Europe.

The viewpoints on the Yugoslav crisis and the Albanians' position it occupied an important part [passage indistinct]

During the visit to the FR of Germany, the minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, met with the state parliamentary secretary of the Federal Ministry on Economic Cooperation, Michaela Geiger. Mr. Muhamet Kapllani spoke of the programme of the Albanian Government for the economic reform passed by the parliament recently.

In this context he pointed to he importance technical and financial cooperation with the FRG has for the realisation of the basic orientations of this reform as privatization, liberalization of prices, legislation etc.

Mrs. Michaela Geiger hailed the reforms in Albania and pointed to the commitment of the German Government so that the accorded technical and financial aids be materialised as soon as possible. Mr. Muhamet Kapllani appreciated the contribution of the German party and proposed that the respective documents for 1991 be realised within this year.

Visits Berlin, Meets With Mayor

AU0311152191 Tirana ATA in English 0958 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 2 (ATA)—In the course of the friendly official visit to the FR of Germany, the minister for foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, and the delegation escorting him paid a visit to Berlin. There they were received and had a very warm and friendly talk with the mayor of the Land of Berlin, E. Diepgen. During the meeting they exchanged views about bilateral relations, on which they expressed their conviction that all possibilities exist for the further development of the relations between the Land of Berlin and Albania develop further, especially in the fields of technical and financial cooperation, tourism etc.

Mr. Diepgen said to the Albanian minister that we well understand Albania's difficulties in launching the reforms and the need to support them.

In honour of the visit of the Albanian foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, to Berlin, the Senate of the Land of Berlin organised a reception with representatives of the political and economic life of Berlin. During the reception, a ceremony in which the Albanian foreign minister Muhamet Kapllani signed "The City's Golden Book " was as well organised.

Over its stay in Berlin the Albanian delegation had a meeting with the director of the German Foundation for the Study of Eastern Europe, Dr. Ernst von Eike.

WEU's Van Eekelen Meets Dimitrov, Mutafchiev

AU0111165291 Sofia BTA in English 1532 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 1 (BTA)—Mr. Willem van Eekelen, secretary general of the Western European Union [WEU], told the press after his meeting with Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), that he had come to Bulgaria to find out the views of the Bulgarian Government and of the future prime minister on the problems of European security. Upon his arrival in Sofia two days ago, Mr. van Eekelen said he was on a fact-finding mission.

Yesterday Mr. van Eekelen was received by President Zhelyu Zhelev and held talks with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov who invited him to Bulgaria.

During his meeting yesterday with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov Mr. van Eekelen was briefed on the political situation in Bulgaria and on the government's views on the situation in the Balkans as a whole. The government spokesman Mr. Yasen Indzhev told BTA that the guest commended highly the changes in this country. He further quoted Mr. van Eekelen as saying that the Western European Union is rather cautious in choosing its partners and that it establishes contacts only with countries which have shown considerable progress in their democratization process. According to Mr. van Eekelen, his visit to Bulgaria is evidence that the union appreciates the government's efforts in the transition period.

Mr. Indzhev quoted Prime Minister Popov as telling Mr. van Eekelen that the Bulgarian Government's one and only concern is the build-up of a huge military capability in European Turkey which is unnecessary in view of the new political situation.

A similar position was expressed by Army General Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of defence, who conferred with Mr. van Eekelen in the presence of reporters. "The existence of such a strong military group in European Turkey is unjustifiable from any point of view, Bulgaria does not pose a military threat and has no territorial claims on any country. It will never provoke an armed conflict," Gen. Mutafchiev said. He added that Turkey's recognition of the fact is not enough and Bulgaria is seeking international support.

Mr. van Eekelen said that the WEU is aware of Bulgaria's apprehensions about its security and that, hopefully, Bulgaria will see its interests safeguarded in the Union's proposals at international negotiations. According to Mr. van Eekelen, Bulgaria runs a minor risk because Turkey has commitments within the European and international structures and is a NATO member. The European Community would by no means tolerate any actions of the type evoking Bulgaria's concern, according to Mr. van Eekelen.

Before the end of the official part of his visit, Mr. van Eekelen met with Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces.

"I believe that the Balkan problems and Bulgaria's need for guarantees within the framework of reasonable common security guarantees in Europe have met with consideration, as this country is a stable and even stabilizing factor in the Balkans," Mr. Dimitrov said after the talks. He pointed out that the view of some Bulgarian politicians, who claim that Bulgaria depended on the Soviet Union and from now on it will depend on Europe, was brought up in the talks. Mr. Dimitrov described this view as totally unfounded.

After his formal meetings Mr. van Eekelen told reporters that contacts between Bulgaria and the WEU—mainly for the exchange of information—will continue both at the ministerial level and through Germany's ambassador in Sofia and Bulgaria's ambassador in London. After his meetings today Mr. van Eekelen said that he got familiar with Bulgaria's specific position in the Balkans and in Europe. He said that it is important to know precisely Bulgaria's views on security problems because now the WEU is working out its proposals on arms control and European security.

Mr. van Eekelen will visit Veliko Turnovo and Ruse on November 2 and 3.

Tomov Asks Soviet Expert for Chernobyl Documents

AU0111150191 Sofia BTA in English 0948 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 1 (BTA)—Yesterday Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov received Prof. Anatoliy Nazarov, chairman of the Standing Expert Committee with the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and member of the committee investigating the causes of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and assessing the measures taken by the respective officials in the period after the accident.

On behalf of the government Mr. Tomov officially requested Prof. Nazarov for providing the Bulgarian side with any available documentation of the former Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the Chernobyl accident. The request was accepted. Prof. Nazarov said that the accident-related archives of the former Politburo have been turned over to the commission and promised that Bulgaria will shortly receive the documentation which concerns it.

The possibilities for bilateral cooperation, and above all for direct cooperation between Bulgaria and the different republics in environment protection, power engineering and nuclear safety, were discussed. Prof. Nazarov informed Mr. Tomov of his impressions during his ten-day visit here and expressed his admiration for the

high competence of Bulgarian scientists in the field of environment protection and for the environmentalist movement in this country.

Energy Official on State of Kozloduy Power Plant

AU0111151691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] At a news conference today, the leadership of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy supplied information on the state of the generating units at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. Three of the units are out of operation for various reasons, while the remaining three are supplying 1,600 megawatts of electric power.

After shutting down the No. 1 unit in conformance with the international organizations' requirements, it is also planned to shut down the No. 2 unit to bring it into line with the design safety requirements. The repair work on the No. 3 unit has been completed, and preparations are under way to obtain permission to put it back into operation. The No. 5 unit is not functioning because of a shortage of operating staff. New salary scales for the operators are expected to come into force beginning today, ranging from 6,000 to 8,000 leva. The No. 6 generating unit is expected to reach its full operating capacity in January 1992.

Mr. Yanko Yanev, the committee's chairman, announced that in mid-November it a full consultative meeting is planned with representatives of all the international organizations concerned with the problems of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. It is necessary to prepare a concept on the plant's operation, which should be as efficient as possible.

In addition, it was made known that the contract has finally been signed with the Westinghouse Company for a project for a plant to process the radioactive waste at Kozloduy. It is envisaged that the plant will start operation in about 10 months time.

SDS Nominates Dimitrov as Prime Minister

AU0111185391 Sofia BTA in English 1827 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 1 (BTA)—The parliamentary majority of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) nominated today SDS leader Filip Dimitrov for the prime-ministership in the new government. After consultations, President Zhelev may ask him to form the new cabinet. The decision was taken at a meeting of the SDS MP's [members of parliament].

Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Radical Democratic Party, is floor leader of the SDS parliamentary faction. Mr. Yordanov will name his deputies after the faction's status is specified before parliament opens on November 4.

The 110-member group of the SDS will probably be called "SDS Parliamentary Faction." It will put forward the candidacy of Mr. Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party, for chairman of the National Assembly.

SDS To Submit Bill Confiscating BSP Property

AU0211202191 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 2 (BTA)—On Monday [4 November] the Parliamentary Group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will submit a bill on the confiscation of the property the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has robbed from the people and of the property owned by the Dimitrov Young Communist League, the Fatherland Front and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party which they have acquired as satellites of the Communist Party.

This bill will be the second most important after the privatization bill, an MP [member of parliament] of the SDS Parliamentary Group who preferred anonymity told BTA today. The parliamentary majority will also submit bills on amendments to the labour legislation, the Foreign Investment Act, the Land Act, the Banking Act and the Penal Code, the same source said.

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The SDS will raise the question of BSP's property and that of its satellites, but not on Monday, as the new parliament will not have started its work.

This became clear from the statement SDS leader Filip Dimitrov made on the national television. He described this move of the ruling coalition as an "absolutely normal act ensuing from the programme of the SDS."

This decision is included in the programme documents of the SDS, therefore any sensational elements are unnecessary, Mr. Dimitrov said when invited to comment on today's statement of an MP of the SDS who preferred anonymity.

BSP Legislative Faction Leaders Elected

AU0111192991 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 1 (BTA)—At its meeting today the parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) decided to call itself Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy. Mrs. Nora Ananieva, BSP floor leader, was elected chairwoman of the Union, and Mr. Velko Vulkanov was elected deputy chairman. Former Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Pirinski, Zhan Videnov, Mincho Minchev and Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov, all of them MP's [members of parliament], were also named deputy chairmen.

The BSP parliamentary faction will nominate lawyer Yanaki Stoilov for chairman of the National Assembly.

The 36th Bulgarian parliament will meet on November 4. It will be opened by Mr. Vladimir Abadzhiev of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], the oldest MP.

Liberal Party Formed; Simeonov Elected Chairman

AU0311204791 Sofia BTA in English 1926 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Kazanluk, November 3 (BTA)—The two-day National Conference of the Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs chaired by Mr. Petko Simeonov in Kazanluk ended by setting up the Liberals' Party.

Mr. Simeonov was elected chairman of the new party with 51 votes for and one abstention.

In a statement for BTA after the conference Mr. Simeonov pointed out the importance of the centrist forces in Bulgaria's future political development. All liberal parties and organizations are our natural allies and we will seek contacts with them, he said. Of course, we could maintain relations with the Union of Democratic Forces, the chairman of the Liberals' Party said.

Zhelev Views Election Results, Political Scene

AU0311194691 Sofia BTA in English 1911 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 3 (BTA)—This evening the Bulgarian head of state described the recent elections for parliament and local authorities as a great success in the development of Bulgaria's young democracy. In his address broadcast by the national radio and the national television President Zhelyu Zhelev highly assessed the activity of all people who took part in the holding of elections, the foreign observers included.

The foreign observers who came to monitor the elections were greatly impressed by the political culture of the Bulgarian people, the Bulgarian president said. In his opinion the high percentage of participation in the elections is an expression of Bulgarians' concern over the country's future.

Noting the new correlation of the political forces in parliament, Dr. Zhelev congratulated the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) with its victory in the elections. He explained that in compliance with the provisions contained in Bulgaria's Constitution, he will request the representative nominated by the UDF to form the new cabinet.

The president said that the extraparliamentary forces are also engaged in the administration of the country because their representatives were elected to the local administrative bodies.

In his address Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev spoke about the difficult situation in the country and the problems the new parliament and the new government have got to resolve. He declared himself to be for the adoption of laws that would accelerate the economic and the political reform. He pointed out that the new cabinet should energetically take firm measures to overcome the economic crisis and to combat rising crime, blackmarketeering and the elements of anarchy.

The president will support this country's parliament, the cabinet and all democratic institutions. He expressed his conviction that the replacement of the political power in the country will be implemented by strictly observing the constitution and the and that no person will be persecuted for his ideological views or political persuasions. [sentence as received]

The Bulgarian head of state condemned the actions of some political forces and movements connected with the totalitarian past, saying they are aimed at the incitement of interethnic confrontation in the areas with mixed population. He said that the process of people's ethnic and religious identification is still going on and this could entail tragic consequences.

Dr. Zhelev reminded the numerous conflicts in the Soviet republics, Yugoslavia and some other countries. He expressed his view that any attempt to resolve ethnic and religious problems by undemocratic means could have regrettable consequences. "When we state that democracy in Bulgaria has no other alternative, then this means that the rights of all Bulgarian citizens should be equally guaranteed," he underlined. He added that nobody should exercise his rights at the expense of the country's national security, territorial integrity and understanding.

According to President Zhelev Bulgaria is threatened by an ethnic crisis, the cause of which he sees in ethnic egoism and the nationalistic populist propaganda conducted by some parties.

The president said that the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) uniting ethnic Turks and Muslims in Bulgaria had emerged and developed on the basis of unsolved problems part of this country's citizens face. Concerning the charges made against the MRF, Dr. Zhelev said that this is a problem that lies within the competence of the Constitution and it must be settled in strict compliance with the law.

The Bulgarian president noted the present considerable participation of MRF representatives in the country's administration and said that "it is time that we convince ourselves of their maturity." "At this moment I hope they will confirm their loyalty before the Bulgarian public by placing Bulgaria's interests, her integrity and the settlement of problems concerning the whole nation above any other interests," the president underlined.

President Zhelev expressed his concern over some actions of MRF leaders and activists which run contrary to their statements that they are serve only the national interests. "Then why should a boycott of school be declared in connection with mother tongue classes in the complicated situation just before the elections," the president asked. He added that the boycott is still going on by making ultimative demands and that newly elected

mayors and municipal councillors have joined the boycott, thus breaking this country's laws.

According to the Bulgarian president some MRF activists are rightfully reproached for their pro-Turkish propaganda among the Bulgarian Muslims, thus alienating them from the Bulgarian people. A similar campaign is being conducted among the Gypsies too. "Such actions are inadmissible and I categorically condemn them," Dr. Zhelev said.

The president believes the mutual confidence between Bulgarians and Turks, between Christians and Muslims, which was lost as a result of the hazardous acts and abuses committed by the previous regime, can be restored. In his view the path to its restoration is neither self-isolation nor discrimination.

The Bulgarian head of state expressed understanding for the concern of Bulgarians who are afraid of possible discrimination acts against them in the population centres and areas where they are a minority.

The restoration of the rights of the Bulgarian Turks by no means should lead to curtailing the rights of Bulgarians, the president said.

"We should learn how to live together," Dr. Zhelev said. He pointed out that Bulgaria should unflinchingly adhere to the foreign political orientation she chose—peace, cooperation with the Balkan peoples and integration with Europe.

SDS's Dimitrov Views Postelection Situation

AU0111183291 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 42, 21 Oct 91 p 8

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Mariana Nikolova; place and date not given: "Why We Lost, Why We Won...—So Far, So Good"]

[Text] [Nikolova] Mr. Dimitrov, when I interviewed you nine months ago, the accent was placed on your belief that unity "here and now" was the most important thing. How do you assess the features of the situation today?

[Dimitrov] The main point is that the Communist Party no longer holds a majority in the National Assembly. On this basis, we might hope to have a new government and to have the legislature begin working at much greater speed, of course. In other words, this means that we first have to think about really effective measures to implement the change. Second, and just as important, we have to ensure that all of us survive, because the crisis is indeed serious, and the difficulties facing the people are far from minor. Third, we must naturally win the support of everyone for what we are doing, and we must do this in the near future.

[Nikolova] You are a man of calm and poise. Were there any moments during the past few days when your emotions took control?

[Dimitrov] I hope not.

[Nikolova] Has not the joy proved to be a delusion?

[Dimitrov] It depends on your viewpoint. It is ridiculous for us to believe that we can transform everything overnight, that rivers of milk and honey will begin flowing in the streets tomorrow. On the other hand, our victory is indeed a great one. After 45 years, the Bulgarian Communist Party is no longer in power. This is of great importance for the whole of our sociopolitical life and for the whole framework of individuals, attitudes, and so on, that until now have so frustrated our attempts to implement change. Of course, there is hardly any reason for euphoria until the job is properly completed, and we must continue to carry it out well.

[Nikolova] Did you find yourself somewhat unprepared? Did you not feel some surprise?

[Dimitrov] Every event that overtakes us contains an element of the unexpected, but we must try to cope and find a solution.

[Nikolova] The Bulgarian Socialist Party lost, but what did the Union of Democratic Forces win? Is it not difficult for the victors?

[Dimitrov] Of course it is. Things cannot be easy in the painful situation in which we have to take over the government of the country, but no one harbored any illusions about this.

[Nikolova] For many Bulgarians, the word "power" has had a negative connotation for the last 45 years. What does the word mean to you today?

[Dimitrov] Power acquired this negative meaning because it was irresponsible power—the power of a handful of satraps who so arranged things that only their power could be a source of prosperity for Bulgaria. In fact, the abolition of private property is a splendid way to make everything dependent on those in power. When this is the case, power becomes an aim that has nothing in common with accepting responsibility, defending one's position, and carrying through one's program.

Our attitude to power is different. We want to break this very link between power and advantage, by creating a better source of advantage, namely property. A man should answer for his own actions and not rely on his social position. On the other hand, again, power stripped of property acquires a different meaning, because it becomes more a question of duty than pleasure. We have no wish to gain pleasure from exercising power, nor is it possible for us to do so. In this way, the attitude toward power may also be changed, although this will happen very gradually, of course. This is important, because respect for power and authority guarantees respect for the institutions and for observance of the rules. In fact,

Bulgaria used to be a country in which the rules of every possible game were constantly being broken. Everyone simply walked by the chess board, seized somebody's knight, and stashed it away in his pocket. These were the principles of communist state power. We are now starting to resolutely work to overcome this attitude.

[Nikolova] How do you regard compromise, from the political and human aspect?

[Dimitrov] Political compromise is an unavoidable method of establishing a trend. Regarding human compromises, that is, putting up with things that may seem unacceptable, but are nevertheless necessary, no difference of views is possible.

[Nikolova] You might say that faith relieves us of various burdens. From what do you derive help at the moment?

[Dimitrov] Faith has a bearing for the individual. It tells you that whatever happens to you personally, you can find some meaning in it, and this makes you feel spiritually like a whole person. However, from now on, faith will not help us with regard to political responsibility, because it has nothing to do with this. You take the responsibility and do the job. If you fail to do it, so much the worse for you. History will judge you....

DPS Leader Discuss Party's History, Role

AU0211174291 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 43, 28 Oct 91 p 7

[Nadya Georgieva article: "Brief History of the Rights and Freedoms Movement"]

[Text] Having been born as a result of violence, will the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] itself give birth to violence? This question is giving rise to understandable tension in certain sectors of the Bulgarian population, especially now, following the announcement of the election results. The future will provide us with the answer, but the assertion made by Osman Oktay, responsible secretary of the DPS, that the organization has never supported ideas of separatism, autonomy, and terrorism, may for the moment reassure many trusting people. According to Oktay, a deputy in the future legislature, the facts and events connected with the moment's past and present provide no grounds for anxiety.

Mr. Oktay considers that the crimes against the Bulgarian people and the minorities in particular, committed over a 45-year period by a totalitarian system led by the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], undoubtedly acted as a political catalyst for the formation of the DPS. In his view, the violence practiced against the Turks in Bulgaria during the so-called revival process in 1984-85 was preceded by campaigns to abolish the names of the Gypsy minority in the sixties and the names of the "Rhodope Turks" in the seventies.

As a result of the resistance to this genocide, in 1985 an organization called the National Turkish Liberation Movement sprang up, with the aim to preserve traditional names, religion, ethnic culture, and rituals. The movement had about 150 members from all over the country, representing different ethnic communities. Mr. Oktay says that its main aim was to inform the Bulgarian and international public by means of declarations and appeals on the crimes committed by the BCP against the minorities in Bulgaria.

In July 1986, the movement's leaders were identified, and 28 people from different regions of Bulgaria landed in prison. They included Ahmed Dogan, who received a jail sentence of 12 years. Three years later, they managed to establish contact with the other members still at liberty and began to prepare new protest actions. To avoid suspicion falling upon the leaders serving their sentences, it was decided to change the organization's name to the Democratic League for Defense of the Rights of Turks in Bulgaria. The league prepared and carried out the wave of protest actions that engulfed large areas of the country in May 1989. "These events were one of the main reasons why the BSP organized its internal coup on 10 November 1989, to cast the blame for the crimes on Todor Zhivkov," Mr. Oktay maintains.

The DPS began its legal activity on 4 January 1990, continuing the traditions of the organizations described above. "Within a short time, over 100,000 members and 1.5 million sympathizers were spread under the movement's blue banner with its two olive branches." By utilizing its legal local structures, the organization grew into an well-organized political structure with local councils in the villages and municipal and okrug councils in 22 okrugs. On 26 March 1990, the DPS held its first constituent national conference, which elected a central council with 31 members. One month later, the Sofia City Court registered the DPS as a political party.

The DPS also includes as members many Bulgarians holding leading posts and representatives of all the ethnic communities in Bulgaria. At the 13 October 1991 elections, Bulgarians led the DPS lists in six constituencies, and they were elected as members of the legislature.

"Through its political presence in the country's sociopolitical life, the DPS stood as a guarantor of Bulgaria's democratic development and won authority throughout the world," maintains Mr. Oktay. "It maintains close links with well-known world organizations for human rights, such as Helsinki Watch and Amnesty International, with all democratic European countries and their governments, and with the EC."

Popov Assesses Government's Achievements

AU0211201891 Sofia BTA in English 1925 GMT 2 Nov 91

[BTA report: "Prime Minister Popov's 'Swan Song'"]

[Text] Sofia, November 2 (BTA)—At the end of the term of the "National Government of the Peaceful Transition," Prime Minister Dimitur Popov appeared on television to report on the activity of his cabinet in a comprehensive declaration.

The peaceful transition is a fact. Despite the sharp political confrontation, not a single drop of blood was shed in the process of dismantling the totalitarian structures and implementing the transition to democracy, the prime minister said, characterising what he considers to be the main achievement of his cabinet.

In terms of figures, the activity of the cabinet includes 90 sittings and the adoption of more than 900 decrees and decisions. Mr. Popov recalled the critical circumstances in which the government had started the economic reform: The country was in the grip of despairing crisis, its huge domestic and external debt was too heavy for such a small country to bear, the world economy entered a recession, and its impact on Bulgaria was further complicated by the war in the Persian Gulf.

Mr. Popov's cabinet has concluded and endorsed more than 70 bilateral and international agreements which proves Bulgaria's transition from total international isolation to building up its new image in the international arena by convincing the world that the country has embarked irreversibly along the road to democracy and a market-based economy, Mr. Popov said.

Elaborating on the practical measures taken to depoliticize and modernize the security forces, Mr. Popov pointed out that now the Army and the security services comprise professionals committed to the protection of this country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The prime minister described as absolutely unlawful the continuing boycott of classes in the mixed-population regions by children descending from Turkish-speaking families. He called on these pupils and first of all on their parents to call off the boycott.

According to the prime minister this cabinet will go down in history as the first non-communist government which started the economic reform.

Havel on Bratislava Events, 3 Nov Hradecek Talks

LD0311184491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Stanislava Dufkova at the president's cottage in Hradecek on 2 November: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Dufkova] Do you not feel offended after the egg-throwing incident in Bratislava?

[Havel] Perhaps I should say a few words about that egg-throwing incident and comment on it. I noted that some newspapers—mainly Slovak, but also Czech newspapers—contained various and sometimes rather incredible speculations and conjectures about what really happened, whether I had wanted to attend the rally or not, whether I had wanted to speak at it or not, whether I had taken offense when I left or not. [passage omitted]

I have to say, above all, that I did not take this incident at all personally. I have experienced much worse. Any feeling of being personally offended or having my pride injured played absolutely no role. [passage omitted]

Nonetheless, the whole incident is worth reflecting on. It is not a matter that we should pass off as an incident among incidents. To be honest, if I was depressed by anything, it was not the fact that there were aggressive groups equipped with eggs at the rally. I know these groups very well; whenever I am in Slovakia, they make some sort of appearance. It is always the same people.

I was depressed a bit by something else: the especially ambiguous reaction that I subsequently noted among some Slovak journalists and even politicians. The very same thing that had happened when I was present in the same square on 15 March was repeated, as if the reason for the incident was coming from the other side.

Speculation has suddenly began to evolve that I should not have gone there. That argument we know. Whenever I run into something like this in Slovakia, I read in Slovak newspapers that I should not have gone there, that I went there deliberately to tarnish Slovakia's reputation in the world by the fact that my mere presence draws attention to these rowdies—that it is merely a Slovak domestic affair that should remain hidden under a Slovak lid, a lid that should not be lifted by the Federal president so that the world can see what is happening underneath and, therefore, it was my fault that I had gone there. I read that it was the fault of the organizers of the rally, which was scheduled to commemorate the founding of the common Czechoslovak state, that the fault was here or there.

And it was as if the attention was being drawn somewhere else; as if the attention was being drawn inconspicuously away from the phenomenon, which is worthy of attention. Several hundreds of egg-throwers and rowdies are, of course, not a representative sample of the Slovak nation. Everyone knows that. Nonetheless, it is an offshoot of something that does apparently exist in Slovakia and—one has to say—that also exists in the Czech lands, albeit in a different form, something very dangerous.

We are living in a time of a peculiar—I would say—social and psychological chaos. People are unsettled by the fact that they cannot see firm order, structure of values, or orderly community life anywhere. Everything has been thrown into uncertainty. The whole legal system and the constitutional setup are uncertain. Political parties are quarreling among themselves. They attack each other. Everybody says something different. Everybody proposes something different. It is not known what the reform will bring, what social shocks it will cause.

In this state of general uncertainty, when people had been accustomed for decades to the rule of a firm hand that set clear boundaries of behavior, when everyone knew what was permissible and what was not and what one could expect if one overstepped that boundary—this has all disappeared. A democratic power is being established here, a power that, following the previous experience, seems to be curiously hesitant, ineffective, and incapable of taking action, incapable of setting boundaries, incapable of dealing with egg-throwers and the like. This has evoked among the people the need for a firm hand.

This phenomenon of uncertainty, chaos, and instability regarding all values is quite a fertile ground for aggressive groups. In the Czech lands, for instance, there are skinheads who have taken order into their own hands. It is, in its way, the Sladek's [republican] party. Opinion polls indicate that their stock is on the rise. In Slovakia there are the nationalistic groups. [passage omitted]

This is an issue causing a great deal of concern. Milan Knazko said that we should be glad that they were only throwing eggs. Even if they had been throwing something more dangerous than eggs, we would still survive somehow. This is, however, not the main point. This is only a warning signal that says something about the atmosphere of the present time.

The question now arises: What to do about it? A cheap recipe is, of course, being offered—the rule of a firm hand. That would, of course, mean that we would find ourselves where we had already been. We did not have to overthrow the totalitarian communist power. Something else is at issue here. The issue is to systematically build the credibility of the democratic power, to build civic responsibility and a sense of discipline and order as an expression of freedom, as a matter of voluntary choice and not a dictate, not coercion, and this is very difficult.

It also places enormous demands on the present political representation. It appears to me that they should realize this and understand that any further meeting on the future constitutional setup—from which smiling politicians go away saying that there was a good atmosphere and that they had reached good agreement, and then it is revealed the following day that we are still where we were before, in the same atmosphere of uncertainty—that each such a meeting

is another drop in the cup of general uncertainty, another contribution to the birth of aggressive groups with fascist tendencies, and another argument for all those cooks of cheap recipes who are saying in squares that they will resolve everything easily, quickly, and overnight if we place all powers in their hands.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, how far should tolerance and decency give in to vulgarity and malice in a democratic system?

[Havel] This is exactly the great task we face—finding the exact borderline in this matter. [passage omitted]

It is necessary to determine this borderline, even at the cost of taking a risk. There are two risks in this context: Either the power is going to be criticized for being unable to defend itself and for silently watching something take place that is its duty not to just watch silently, or, on the other hand, for taking an action, an authoritative action, and thus losing its democratic character.

It is necessary to take risks, to not be afraid to make a decision, whatever it is, and to risk that the decision will necessarily be criticized.

The current situation about which I spoke a little while ago can be characterized, in my view, by yet another element—fear. This is strange. We would expect that after 40 years of communism, which was essentially based on a general fear, that the fear would evaporate and disappear from our society. Surprisingly, fear continues to exist. It just exists in different forms.

First, it is a fear of the Communists who continue to hold various economic posts in various local bodies, who continue to govern, while wearing, of course, the insignias of one of the current political parties, the insignia of the strongest party, if possible. There is a fear of them, of their possible revenge, of them inconspicuously succeeding in reversing conditions to what they used to be and then taking revenge against those who opposed them. In my view, the disputed screening law is one attempt to fight this threat. In this context, I fully understand this law; it is an attempt to reflect this situation and to react to it.

Nevertheless, there are also other fears. People fear the hard-line anti-communists as they ask themselves: Where is this going to end? All of us had our finger in the pie, in one way or another. All of us voted for the communists—they received 99.9 percent of the votes in all elections. Half the people in the country have, at some time, been members of the Communist Party. From 1948 until today, that amounts to about 8 million people. Every third worker was a member of the People's Militia. Where is this going to end? [passage omitted]

Nevertheless, there are other fears emerging. I am very disturbed over a fear in Slovakia—which is being confirmed by a great number of letters I have received—a fear of the Slovak patriots who threaten that once an independent Slovakia exists, everybody who supported a common state will be dealt with. [passage omitted]

The issue of the Slovak nation and its sovereignty—and perhaps later of its independence—seems to be linked to a danger of a certain authoritative system, to a danger of an undemocratic way of governing.

There are some things that take me aback: For instance, I am not aware that anybody who has drawn, painted, printed, or posted leaflets against the Jews, anti-Semitic leaflets, or who has printed and circulated the Protocols of the Wise Men of the Sion, has been taken to court. I am not aware that anybody who has desecrated Jewish graves or has called Jan Carnogursky or me the king of Jews, Judas, etc. has been caught and taken to court.

Nobody has been taken to court for this, but a big campaign was launched against Mrs. Klimova [Czechoslovak ambassador to the United States] because she said in an interview—which, by the way, was never published in America—that the phenomenon of anti-Semitism emerged in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, it seems that there is a lack of energy to uncover and punish manifestations of anti-Semitism.

My impression is that Slovak society has been going through a very important phase—Czech society has also been going through such a phase, though in a different form—in which it is being decided not only whether Slovakia is to have this or that degree of independence, but whether it is going to be a democratic Slovakia.

[Dufkova] Tomorrow you will convene a meeting of leading constitutional representatives at your cottage in Hradecek. How will the meeting go?

[Havel] Understandably, I cannot anticipate it exactly. Perhaps I should add, in this context, that it is not the case that the meeting is being held totally on my own initiative; some of the constitutional representatives asked me to organize a meeting before the next talks between the presidia of the National Councils. [passage omitted]

I would be happy if, at the end of the meeting, a written communique is issued in which the participants would at least pledge to work for a certain solution that they see as possible, even though they cannot promise anything on behalf of their governments or representative bodies. I do not know whether we will succeed in doing so.

In any case, the situation is constantly becoming more serious, more dangerous, and I do not think that this is the last meeting, that it will not be possible to hold more talks. The option of holding more talks is always open. Nevertheless, I think that the talks should now aim at achieving clear results.

At this stage, our public should know more about the talks. I would even welcome it if tomorrow's meeting—or another one, if it comes to that—is broadcast on television, possibly live. I would welcome it if our public knew more about it, as this concerns really everybody, the 15 million citizens of this Republic. They have the right to know. [passage omitted]

Regardless of how well or badly the talks between the National Councils on an agreement progress, or how various other meetings progress, I think our citizens should be given an opportunity to express their views. [passage omitted]

As a safety valve, a referendum should be declared regardless of the progress of talks. It could be the case that a harmonious consensus will be reached, that constitutions will be written, that problems will disappear. A referendum can be canceled at anytime, but one cannot be declared in hurry. A referendum has to be declared now so that it can take place in December—it cannot take place later because of the elections. [passage omitted]

I do not understand people who say that it would be better to declare new elections instead. Elections would be useless. To which bodies would we be electing candidates? [passage omitted]

I am not sure whether a boycott of the elections will take place in some parts of our Republic. I can imagine elections to National Councils but not to the Federal representative bodies. I think the idea of early elections is very problematic. The way out is in both talks and the safety valve of a referendum. [passage omitted]

Politicians should be aware that they are now, in fact, undergoing a big test—the test of whether they are capable of doing what they have all promised to do in their posts: to give a new constitutional form to our common state, Czechoslovakia.

Talks Begin; Havel's Federation Proposal Released

LD0411040591 Prague CSTK in English 1618 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 3 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today plays host to the heads of the Federal, Czech and Slovak Governments and parliaments in an attempt to overcome the differences between Slovak and Czech representatives on the future form of the common Czechoslovak state.

Just last week the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)—whose chairman, Jan Carnogursky, is also the Slovak premier—called for the common state to be a "loose federation with confederative elements." Meanwhile, Chairwoman of Czech parliament Dagmar Buresova said it should "satisfy all the criteria for a federation, which will allow it to function as a common state."

The last talks between the presidiums, or steering committees, of the Czech and Slovak parliaments, October 22-23, failed to produce an agreement on the shape of the future state and the desired attributes of the federation, among others, in the areas of energy policy and the environment.

Carnogursky maintains that today's talks at the mountain cottage of President Havel—where the former "dissident" once wrote his essays on human rights and hosted concerts by underground rock bands—are not "negotiations in the true sense of the word," but rather "a recapitulation of previous discussions."

However, his Czech counterpart, Petr Pithart, believes that if today's meeting does not produce an agreement, there is a threat of serious complications, particularly in connection with the preparation of legislation on next year's budgets.

He points out the fact that the Czech Government feels the Slovak Republic's contribution to the federal budget does not correspond to its population: 5.3 million out of a total 15.6 million nationwide.

"If we do not reach an agreement (at Sunday's talks), it will mean our parliaments will soon be entering into a grueling debate on the budgets (November 20 - ed.) without having the support of an elementary Czech-Slovak consensus," Pithart said.

On the other hand, Federal Premier Marian Calfa, who is of Slovak nationality, has said he does not agree with the Czech side's view of the situation: "There is no deadline limiting our negotiations on the future of the state. We must talk until absolutely every possibility is exhausted."

In an interview with CSTK, Calfa noted that at the last discussions of Federal, Czech and Slovak leaders, called by Havel in Karlovy Vary October 17, they managed to find common ground on "the powers of the common state that cannot be debated: a single foreign policy, a single army and a single currency."

But he criticised Slovak politicians for referring after the talks to the concept of a "minimal federation," which in his view marks "a definite shift in opinions in the wrong direction."

Slovak parliament chair Frantisek Miklosko said about today's meeting that President Havel is "a great authority" and that negotiations with him always provide an incentive for debates on the constitutional arrangement of the state in the Slovak and Czech legislatures. "At the same time they have been a sort of moral support for everyone in this process," he said.

The next joint session of the Czech and Slovak presidiums, originally scheduled for last week, will take place November 11-12.

President Havel's spokesman, Michael Zantovsky, labelled today's meeting—now the 12th one to be held

on the future of the Czechoslovak Federation—as urgent, saying that Havel, along with the top officials of the Federation and the two Republics, is seeking a way out of what he called the present crisis situation.

At an October 22 briefing Zantovsky said that Havel was prepared to negotiate further with the country's leaders, but only provided the talks would lead to clear, public results and that all the participants would be bound to support whatever conclusions were reached.

One way to assure the commitment of all those involved in the negotiations would be to have them sign a joint communique, he said. But the extent to which their signatures would have any meaning depends on their individual attitudes. Otherwise, Zantovsky noted, the conclusions of the talks could be immediately thrown into doubt.

President Havel today released to CSTK in the course of his talks with Czechoslovakia's Federal, Czech and Slovak governmental and parliamentary leaders his proposal for steps to be taken in the near future to bring an end to the search for the future constitutional arrangement of the country.

Havel's proposal envisions a five-part agreement to be concluded between the Czech and Slovak Parliaments on behalf of their republics. Highlights are as follows:

The first part, the preamble, would state that the Slovak and Czech parliaments, expressing the sovereign will of their citizens and embodying the sovereignty of their republics, will conclude together an agreement on a common state and the principles of its constitutional setup.

The second part would contain a brief description of the content and meaning of the common state.

The third part would deal with the legislative, executive and judicial powers to be delegated by the Republics to the common state.

The fourth part would consist of an overview and characterisation of the institutions of this state.

The fifth part would state the obligation of the National Councils, i.e., the republic parliaments, to draft and approve constitutions in accordance with the agreement. It would also contain, among other things, an appeal to the Federal Assembly to adhere to the agreement in its preparation of the federal constitution.

Havel's outline of the process to be followed in implementing his proposal:

Step No. 1—Form a small editorial commission, composed of the chairpersons and vice chairpersons of the Czech and Slovak parliaments, to prepare a draft agreement.

Step No. 2—Submit the draft to the upcoming joint session of the presidiums of the two parliaments, November 11-12 in Bratislava, for polishing up.

Step No. 3—Immediately afterwards, submit the draft agreement to the committees and full assemblies of the Czech and Slovak parliaments, in order for it to be approved by the end of November. This approval may take the form of a constitutional law, a normal law or a resolution.

Step No. 4—At the beginning of December the chairpersons of both parliaments are to appear before the Federal Assembly to present the federal deputies with the text of the approved agreement and an accompanying commentary.

Step No. 5—This winter the Slovak and Czech parliaments are then to pass republic constitutions, in accordance with the approved agreement.

Step No. 6—Next spring the Federal Assembly would pass the federal constitution, again in accordance with the approved agreement.

Step No. 7—The federal constitution is to be ratified by the republic parliaments.

Step No. 8—Shortly after the ratification of the federal constitution, all four documents—namely, the agreement and the three constitutions—are to take effect simultaneously and on the same day. Given the parliamentary elections scheduled for June 1992, the latest realistic date for this last step is May 1, 1992.

Concluding note:

Independently of this process, the Federal Assembly should discuss the calling of a referendum in December on the future of the Czechoslovak state. Provided the referendum is called, the agreement is not concluded by December and the result of the referendum is in favour of a common state, it would represent a clear signal from the citizens to the republic parliaments for an agreement to be accepted as quickly as possible.

If an agreement is concluded between the time the referendum is called and the time it takes place, the referendum could either be called off or could take place as an opportunity for the citizens of both republics to express their approval or disapproval of the agreement.

At 11:00 p.m., Zantovsky informed journalists that the negotiations were continuing and that no agreement had yet been reached on the content of the proposed agreement between the Czech and Slovak republics.

He said that President Havel would like the participants to prepare a joint communique from today's talks which would be binding on all of the participants.

Communique Issued After Talks

LD0411091591 Prague CSTK in English 0803 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 4 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Havel and the heads of the federal, Czech and Slovak governments and parliaments early this morning issued a joint communique from their meeting at the president's mountain cottage on the future of the Czechoslovak state.

The most important outcome of the talks, which began yesterday at 5:00 p.m. and continued late into the night, was a commitment by all the participants to do everything possible to ensure that the Slovak and Czech parliaments approve an agreement on the principles of the federation's constitutional arrangement by the end of November.

This agreement would then be incorporated into the new constitutions of both the republics and the federation, and the new constitutions could be passed by may 1992.

Taking as their starting point a proposal submitted to them yesterday by President Havel, the officials noted that the president's proposal was acceptable in many points, but there still existed differences in interpretations of the agreement, in the degree to which it would be binding and in the legal aspects of the agreement between the Slovak and Czech Republics.

The Czech side—Premier Petr Pithart, parliament chairwoman Dagmar Buresova and parliament vice chair Jan Kalvoda—endorses Havel's proposal, but has a different understanding of the concept of the "agreement" between the National Councils (the Czech and Slovak parliaments).

Czech officials interpret the agreement as an expression of the republics' will to coexist in a common state, and are concerned that the constitutional role of the Federal Assembly be maintained.

The Slovak side—Premier Jan Carnogursky, parliament chairman Frantisek Miklosko and parliament vice chair Ivan Carnogursky—also endorses the president's proposal, but interprets the agreement as a legally valid act which any changes in the state's constitutional setup must abide by.

The chairpersons and vice chairpersons of the republic parliaments will meet this week to draw up a joint draft of the agreement.

Carnogursky on Sovereignty Declaration, EC

LD0211120691 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by correspondent Lubomir Lindtner; date and place not given: "Ten Minutes with the Slovak Prime Minister"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lindtner] The 18th plenary session of the Slovak National Council is due to open on 4 November. On the agenda will be the discussion of the proclamation of the Slovak Republic's sovereignty. Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart described it as politically unfortunate. What is your view?

[Carnogursky] I believe that to discuss a draft bill now on the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic would not serve any purpose. Talks have been taking place between the presidia of both National Councils that have not as yet ended. It is precisely during these talks that the character of the coexistence between Czechs and Slovaks in one state is to be established. As these talks have not yet been completed, it would not be appropriate, to say the least, to discuss a bill on sovereignty.

I spoke some time ago about the problem of the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic itself, and what I said at that time still applies—that is that, if the bill is merely a very general proclamation of sovereignty, it would not have practical effects, and Slovakia already has such a sovereignty. On the other hand, if the bill meant a violation of the existing constitution, it would merely damage Slovakia's position in the international arena.

[Lindtner] On 20 November, the Czech Government is due to discuss next year's draft budget. Mr. Pithart described this date as an absolute limit: If there is not a firm settlement on important issues with the Slovak side by that date, I fear that it will be very difficult to save our common state—the words I have quoted were those of the Czech prime minister. What is your response?

[Carnogursky] The Slovak side is discussing important issues with the Czech side. [passage omitted] Various alternatives of a possible drafting of the budgets were agreed to at these talks. Some of them give rise to hope, I would say, and create a prerequisite that we should be able to create not only the structure of the budget and the system of drafting and compiling the budgets, but also the system of supplying funds to these budgets.

[Lindtner] I would also like to know what is your stand on the association agreement with the European Communities. Once again, in this connection, Petr Pithart voiced an idea to the effect that we ought to sign the agreement in Brussels as soon as possible, but it is certain that the Slovak proposals would not go through at the session. You are in touch with various European politicians. What then is your view of pushing through the association agreement containing the text proposed by the Slovak Government.

[Carnogursky] First of all, I would like to say that the text, which was originally proposed by the Slovak Government but which has now been adopted also by the Federal Government, is very modest and anchors only the existing constitutional status quo in Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted] The prime reason for our submitting this text is that according to the existing division of powers between the federation and the republics, around 80

of the rights and duties ensuing from the association agreeement will be fulfilled by the republics. Another reason is that we are in Europe, and we are interested in our name, in the least, being well known in Europe. [passage omitted]

One thing I would like to say is that this issue has not been officially presented yet by the Czechoslovak delegation at the plenary session because of the refusal of the Czech Government representatives. The politicians, with whom I discussed the matter, said that this request is acceptable if it is a request of Czechoslovakia, as such, and last week the Federal Government finally decided that the Czechoslovak delegation would table this question during the next round of talks that will take place next week.

[Lindtner] In the last few days, you have adopted a negative position on the interview of Rita Klimova, our ambassador to the United States, who spoke about the existence of anti-Jewish demonstrations in Slovakia. After his return from America, President Havel, in essence, excused Mme. Klimova by noting that the translation was incorrect. [passage omitted]

[Carnogursky] The pronouncements of Ambassador Klimova are inappropriate because she is a Czechoslovak ambassador to the United States and not a freelance writer. Her duty as an ambassador is to defend the interests of the republics, including all of its parts, of course, and she cannot, therefore, afford to freely express her views. After all, she is an ambassador. The Slovak Government discussed the pronouncements of the ambassador at its last session and instructed Minister for International Relations Demes to write a letter to Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier in this respect. It might not be appropriate for me to spread possible conjectures about the way in which we shall wind all this up before this affair is dealt with and concluded on a ministerial level, so to speak. [passage omitted]

Klaus Outlines Possible 1992 Budget Alternatives

AU0211192391 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Oct 91 p 2

[CSTK report: "The Budget in Triplicate"]

[Text] Prague—All three finance ministers—Vaclav Klaus, Karel Spacek, and Jozef Danco—met in Prague yesterday to discuss the preparations for the 1992 budget.

Vaclav Klaus said that, along with his colleagues, he had prepared four possible alternative solutions that will be worked out in detail by experts before the end of the week. Minister Klaus described two variants as feasible solutions. "One is based on the profit tax from the so-called controversial enterprises—that is, enterprises that operate in both republics and whose products cannot be easily divided—going into the federal budget without any kind of division. Some federal expenditures would then be repaid from this," said V. Klaus.

"The second solution proceeds from the idea of slightly increasing the federal budget and dividing it into a 'normal part' and a 'temporary part,' which would enable us to balance out the unequal creation of assets in both republics," he continued. He also emphasized that "going for these solutions would only contribute toward further destabilizing the joint state," that—as he said—he is constantly endeavoring to avoid.

Vaclav Klaus likewise mentioned that the state budgets will, in all cases, be based on the dual principle. First and foremost, they will be predominantly dependent on real budget revenue. He pointed out that "this will cause inequality in the size of republican budgets per citizen. In reply to a question from a CSTK correspondent, he said that Slovak citizens would be worse off. "This principle should be supplemented by a principle of civic solidarity that would be the basis for granting certain resources from the federal budget equally to all citizens," added Minister Klaus.

According to him, no specific figures were discussed yesterday. The three finance ministers' talks will continue next week.

Defense Spokesman on SFRY Attack Against Ships

LD0311222891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Telephone interview with Defense Ministry Spokesman Gyorgy Keleti by Evelin Forro; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Eger, the Adony, and the Csepel, ships cruising in convoy on the Danube, were shot at from the direction of Vukovar with handguns and mine throwers. The Eger and the Adony were damaged but were able to continue. Nobody was injured. The convoy has already reached Novi Sad. Having heard of the attack, our editor, Evelin Forro, telephoned Defense Ministry Spokesman Gyorgy Keleti:

[Keleti] Naturally, the Hungarian side cannot let the event pass without comment. In my view, the competent officials of the Foreign Ministry will take steps, primarily at the Danube Committee and with the Yugoslav side, to receive an explanation of the event and to ask that the shipment of cargo by Hungarian ships continue to be guaranteed. [passage omitted]

[Forro] Do you know of any airspace violations in the past day at the Yugoslav-Hungarian border?

[Keleti] Yesterday, the Yugoslav Air Force carried out very intensive activities not too far from the border. Yugoslav aircraft were in the air almost all day. Accordingly, aircraft of the Hungarian Air Defense also patrolled the area. Yesterday, 10 Hungarian fighter planes and four combat helicopters were deployed. They carried out patrolling activities exclusively above Hungarian territory. To my knowledge, until late afternoon today, there were no such activities, and Yugoslav airspace near the border was quiet. We have concentrated more fighter planes and helicopters at one airfield so that they can take off if necessary.

[Forro] If the Barcs event were repeated, would the Hungarian Air Defense have some means to prevent it?

[Keleti] If this incident were repeated, it would be a very extreme event. The Hungarian Air Defense possesses the means to prevent the occurence of such incidents.

[Forro] Is it authorized for this at this moment?

[Keleti] Yes. We will do our best to insure that the Barcs incidents is not repeated.

[Announcer] You have heard spokesman for the Ministry of Defense Gyorgy Keleti. Since the interview we have learned that David Meiszter, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has already informed the chairman of the Danube committee about the incident.

Still on this topic: Prime Minister Jozsef Antall stated in his speech at the wreath-laying that Hungary has the proof of who was responsible for the Barcs incident.

SFRY Embassy Issues Communique on Barcs

LD0111154591 Budapest MTI in English 1435 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—Shells were, in fact, dropped on the Hungarian village of Barcs, near the Yugoslav border, on October 27, a communique issued by the Yugoslav Embassy in Hungary stated today.

The communique was released by the Embassy after the ambassador of Yugoslavia and his co-workers visited Barcs at the invitation of Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on October 30.

"The shell-cases found on the site are of Swedish make. However, the Yugoslav Federal Army does not have any such arms in its arsenal. No Yugoslav Federal Army aircraft was on the spot at the time the shells were dropped.

"The matter needs to be clarified as soon as possible. Therefore, a joint expert committee will have to be set up to investigate the incident. It is in our interest as well to bring the full truth to light," the communique of the Yugoslav Embassy stated.

Ministry Responds to SFRY Claims

LD0311184891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] According to some leaked information, the Defense Ministry has irrefutable proof that the Yugoslav Federal Air Force does possess such grenades that were used in the attack on Barcs a week ago. Spokesman Gyorgy Keleti could not refute or confirm the information. However, he has promised that the [minister without] portfolio will return to the issue within a few days. It was claimed by the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest the day before yesterday that the Yugoslav Army did not and does not possess such weapons, of which several unexploded rounds were found in the settlement along the border.

Goncz: Attack 'An Accident'

LD0411032991 Budapest MTI in English 1845 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 3 (MTI)—The Hungarian president is confident that the Yugoslav civil war will not be protracted, and considers the bomb attack against the Hungarian village of Barcs to be an accident.

In an interview on Hungarian Radio on Sunday, President Goncz said the Hungarian minority should be protected through diplomatic channels, and it should be achieved that Hungarians living in Yugoslavia be able to participate in the settlement of the conflict.

The calling to account of former politicians, party members and secret agents was also among the topics discussed in the interview. According to Goncz, this is

legally unclarified, and a just calling to account is difficult to imagine. The remarks made by Goncz made it clear he does not approve of politicians diverting attention from other, more important matters by focusing on calling others to responsibility.

IMF Official Calls For Smaller Budget Deficit

LD0211232791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] One of the greatest problems of the Hungarian economy is the large budget deficit, says the European chief of the IMF. Massimo Russo has discussed the progress of one year of the IMF's three-year program for Hungary with Jozsef Antall, Mihaly Kupa, Gyorgy Suranyi, and other economic leaders. After his Budapest visit, he held a press conference in the National Bank. Tamas Lujgics reports:

[Lujgics] We would like Hungary to return to the budget deficit measure featured in the three-year program established with the IMF, but our experts will study the reasons for the planned budget deficit growth, said Massimo Russo, head of the European Department of the IMF. It is my conviction, he emphasized, that a smaller budget deficit would not slow down the economic upswing, because the private sector would gain access to more investment opportunities. However, if the interest rate remains this high, as well as the state budget deficit, this could have a detrimental effect later on the rate of growth of the economy. Mr. Russo said it was good that the rate of inflation had increased more slowly than expected, and also that Hungary is unfailingly fulfilling its debt repayment obligations.

The Yugoslav situation definitely detracts from Western businessmen's interest in Hungary, because it entails rish to invest in a country whose neighbor is fighting a civil war. However, experience shows that the Yugoslav internal war does not have an effect, in practice, on the rate of foreign capital investments, said the leader of the European Department of the IMF.

FKgP Deputy Faction Leader Criticizes Torgyan

AU0411090191 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Oct 91 p 4

[Interview with Sandor Olah, deputy faction leader of the Independent Smallholders' Party, by Edit Osz; place and date not given: "Sandor Olah: Torgyan Jeopardizes Coalition Talks"]

[Excerpts] Jozsef Torgyan has threatened to exclude some Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] members from the party, including Sandor Olah, the former general secretary. Olah was abroad when these statements were made, but he returned to Hungary on 27 October:

[Osz] How did you react to the events that marked the FKgP last week?

[Olah] The party leaders took some completely illogical steps during those 10 days. They transgressed the limits of political possibilities and, consequently, their personalities and policies ended up in isolation. The narrow circle surrounding the party chairman undertook some actions that have alienated the leadership from the grassroots, who expect responsible policies. Through their reprisals, they have distanced themselves from our group of legislative representatives, and at the same time, they have moved further away from our coalition partners. At the start of a promising series of negotiations, Torgyan decided to sue the prime minister and three of his ministers. That will definitely not bring justice to Torgyan, but it will make the affected people resent him. He is jeopardizing the success of the coalition talks.

[Osz] Do you think that these audacious moves will influence the coalition's stability?

[Olah] That is precisely the crux of the matter, because we are talking about one individual here. If this individual were gifted with an adequate feeling for politics, he would weigh up the serious consequences that he might bring about by placing his own interests in the limelight. Not to mention the fact that, if this coalition remains and if this is how the parties relate to one another, it will create an impression of instability in the eyes of the population and our partners abroad. [passage omitted]

[Osz] This affair has grown into a scandal since May, and one cannot understand why Prime Minister Jozsef Antall does not put an end to Torgyan's provocations against him.

[Olah] I think that Jozsef Antall (understandably) deems it beneath his dignity to take up the challenge. All this is some kind of steam coming out of the political underworld, and it should not be allowed to appear in public life.

[Osz] What could the responsible members of the FKgP do to stop this?

[Olah] I have personally asked Dr. Torgyan on several occasions to leave public performances aside for a while and to be satisfied with his work as a legislative representative. Naturally, I know that what I say is naive. [passage omitted]

NDSZ's Biro Discusses Tasks, Prospects

AU0411085991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Oct 91 p 6

[Interview with Zoltan Biro, cofounder of the National Democratic Alliance, by Janos A. Szilagyi; place and date not given: "Interview With Zoltan Biro—Preparations for Congress—The National Democratic Alliance Created A Workers' Branch"]

[Excerpts] The National Democratic Alliance [NDSZ] led by Imre Pozsgay and Zoltan Biro was created in the spring of 1991, following lengthy preparations. Great expectations preceded the emergence of this movement. Many people expected this movement, led by the two influential politicians, to become a major factor in our public life. However, we have heard very little about the NDSZ since its inception. Unexpected news broke this silence recently, namely that the NDSZ has set up its workers' branch. We interviewed Zoltan Biro about the situation, about the plans and the goals of the NDSZ:

[Szilagyi] What is the NDSZ: a party, a movement, or an interest group?

[Biro] Using an official expression, we established a public organization six months ago. However, we would like to create an organization in which the party structure would be valid only for the elections, and we would function as a less militant movement, integrating several value systems in the interim period between elections. We will have to register ourselves as a party to be able to fulfill a real political role and to run in the elections.

[Szilagyi] Why did you fall so much into the background lately?

[Biro] The political noise has grown so much in this country, in which life is so difficult, so that, together with Imre Pozsgay, we thought that a new organization should not get involved in this noise. I think we are not yet prepared organizationally either to be able to have a stronger voice on major issues. Therefore, we had no position either on the issue of privatization or the Konya affair. [passage omitted]

[Szilagyi] How much public support do you enjoy today?

[Biro] We already have more than 1,000 members, and we have local organizations in various places in the country. We deliberately refrain from hastening the increase in our membership. We want to build our movement with greater demand for quality, rather than with spectacular recruiting of new members. [passage omitted]

[Szilagyi] In your opinion, what is the NDSZ place in the Hungarian political spectrum today?

[Biro] Every legislative party has sections that are closer to us and sections that are not close to us. I could only determine our current situation if I started differentiating between individual parties. Naturally, if I take the principles, rather than the political practice, the basic principles of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] are closer to us than those of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. One can notice today a crisis in self-determination, primarily in the two largest legislative parties. Today, everyone wants to simultaneously be a liberal, a Christian-democrat, and a social democrat. Irrespective of what one claims to be, his human and political qualities will decide whether I can cooperate with him or not.

[Szilagyi] What are your future plans?

[Biro] We will hold a congress soon, but we have not yet set a date for it. At this congress, we want to give our movement a more detailed action plan and statute than the current ones, and we also want the movement to have elected bodies. In the meantime, we will continue to lead the party as caretakers, together with Imre Pozsgay.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Treaty Discussed

PM0411112691 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 28 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Report by "SAS", TRYBUNA SLASKA's permanent correspondent in Moscow: "They Are Leaving: Treaty on Withdrawal of Soviet Army from Poland Initialed"]

[Text] The Polish-Soviet treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet Army troops from the Polish Republic's territory was initialled on Saturday in Moscow. Polish and Soviet vice ministers of foreign affairs, Jerzy Makarczyk and Yuriy Deryabin, signed the treaty at a ceremony at the mansion housing the Soviet Foreign Affairs Ministry, in the presence of the ambassadors of the respective sides, S. Ciosek and Y. Kashlev. The Polish side expressed the belief that the withdrawal of Soviet units from our country was the first step toward normalization of mutual relations, which will be ultimately sealed by the signing of the new treaty of cooperation and good-neighborly relations.

The treaty initialed on Saturday determines that all combat units of the Soviet Army will leave Poland by 15 November 1992. After that date, only a 6,000-strong logistics and control contingent will be used for technical servicing of troop transit from the former GDR. By the end of 1993, the number of Soviet officers and men is to drop to 2,000, and they will finally leave Poland at the same time as the troop transit from Germany to the USSR comes to an end. "These are the latest dates for us, and we are counting on the Soviet side's not delaying matters until the very last day. Despite the fact that the agreement has not yet been finally signed, the act of initialing represents its acceptance, and we are hoping that the withdrawal of combat units will begin in the immediate future," Minister Makarczyk told us as he commented on the basic provisions of the agreement. "We cannot disclose other articles of the agreement until the final signing," said Director J. Sulek of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Both sides conceded that a number of property and finance issues still remain to be settled. They concern the property left on Poland's territory and compensation for damage caused to our natural environment by the Soviet troops. "Negotiations in this respect are well advanced," the chairman of the Polish delegation stated.

During a meeting with Polish press correspondents accredited in Moscow, both Vice Minister Deryabin and Ambassador Kashlev referred to the disturbing items carried by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and IZVESTIYA. They cite statements by General Dubinin, the officer commanding Soviet troops in Poland, who announced that his combat and first echelon units would not leave our country until the end of 1992. "That report was a mistake made by Soviet journalists, while the interview with General Dubinin published in IZVESTIYA did not take place at all. The general himself intends to correct this in the next few days," head of protocol at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs told us.

The person at the center of the confusion, Gen. Dubinin, was to be present at the initialing of the treaty, but he left for Poland the day before. In the opinion of a number of members of the Polish delegation and of observers, his absence was, as it were, a confirmation that there was no smoke without fire.

All this goes to show that the substance of the talks is very difficult and awkward, especially for the Soviet side. At the same time, it confirms that, despite evident difficulties and obstacles, Polish diplomats managed to negotiate agreements on withdrawal and transit based on the principles of equal rights and sovereignty.

UD Meets To Create Pro-Reform Coalition

LD0411061391 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] The attempts made by the leaders of the Democratic Union [UD] to create a pro-reform coalition have not brought about any results. In the view of UD, the continuation of the policy of reforms in Poland is threatened. This was discussed at the first meeting since the elections of the council of the Democratic Union:

[Unidentified correspondent] The meeting took place behind closed doors. The basis for discussion was an evaluation of the talks held so far between the party leaders and representatives of other groupings that are to bring about the creation in the Sejm of a majority coalition. Asked with which parties the UD would be inclined to create such a coalition, Tadeusz Mazowiecki told journalists:

[Mazowiecki] We have specified these groupings as groupings expressing themselves for reform, and in their historical roots arising out of Solidarity. We will be (?laying) ever greater stress on this word reform, as we have said that reform is threatened.

[Correspondent] The Union's council has formulated conditions relating to the possible participation of the party in a coalition. They relate, above all, to economic questions, inter alia, the continuation of the policy of the progressive reduction of inflation, departure from allowances, subsidies, and preferences; the continuation of privatization; and the continuation of a social policy intended to limit poverty.

Walesa Adviser on Interview in Washington Daily

LD0211232191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Does President Walesa see Leszek Balcerowicz in the new government? Does he wish the continuation of his reforms? The reverberations of Thursday's THE WASHINGTON POST interview are not dying down. Thursday evening, the main edition of the Wiadomosci program showed a brief excerpt, from which there must remain in the memories of TV viewers the sentence: No, I will not sack Balcerowicz. The next day, agencies carried fuller reports of the interview. It transpired that

the president does not preclude the removal of Balcerowicz as the director of Polish reforms and the possibility of granting him, for instance, the chairmanship of the Polish National Bank [NBP]. Two hours ago, I spoke on the telephone with Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski:

[Begin recording] [Drzycimski] The television sound bite was literally a television sound bite. On the other hand, there was an entire fragment devoted to Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz, in which the president said clearly that this experience, and this preparation, along with that which Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz has done for Poland, demands that these opportunities be exploited fully for him. And irrespective of how the future looks, and the arrangement of the new government, the president feels that the place of the current deputy prime minister, Leszek Balcerowicz, is always in Poland, and he ought to continue to work for Poland.

[Correspondent] In that case, how would you comment on the headline in THE WASHINGTON POST? The interview appeared under the headline: Walesa Will Change Balcerowicz and Ameliorate the Reforms.

[Drzycimski] First, nothing like this was said. The editors of THE WASHINGTON POST have apparently carried out certain editing—which did not transpire from the interview—so that something like this could be extracted, but in this case, as ever, sensation is running ahead of the substantive content. Because if you listen to and look at this interview, it can be seen that the most important thing that the president spoke of was the fact that the elections that took place just a few days ago are elections of certain views of society. The president feels that society has, in the elections in the last few days, not chosen a rejection of the reforms, those that have been introduced in Poland and that are being continued, but of the method of their implementation. And, thus, he attaches such important weight to the implementation of the announced, and also necessary, accelerations that now stand before us. [end recording]

The spokesman also told me that it is difficult to speak of concrete stances when the outlines of the government that the Sejm could accept are not yet known. And everyone can see what kind of Sejm we have.

Walesa Says Non-Voters Will Support Reforms

LD0111203191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0600 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] President Lech Walesa, in an extensive interview granted to the RZECZPOSPOLITA newspaper, speaks of the need to accelerate the reforms in our country, occupy the unemployed, and reform the law. He also comments on the low participation of his countrymen in the Sunday elections to Parliament. In the view of the president, the 60 percent of citizens who did not participate in voting also favor the reforms. On the other hand, they did not like the political activity of authoritative representatives. If we were to have, stresses President Walesa, even poorer results but attempted to address their problems, then non-voters would be capable of understanding and supporting us. Through their nonparticipation, they have appealed to us to concern ourselves with the difficult matters in their lives. Replying to a question regarding the four options for the creation of a government, President Walesa stated that he does not particularly prefer any of them. He added to this that he possesses yet another option for the creation of a cabinet, but that it is not yet time to speak of it. The president of the Republic drew attention to the fact that the Sejm must assist the government, for otherwise it will act against itself. The point is, after all, a coalition government—not only in name. The majority will decide.

Walesa, Bielecki Discuss Government Work

LD0211024291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] President Lech Walesa today received Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, to whom he addressed a request for the government to continue its work. He stressed that, although the political atmosphere in Poland is characterized by various emotions, the Council of Ministers cannot surrender to this and ought to implement its tasks consistently. The postelection situation, the result of which is the inability to create a government by one political party, was also discussed. Consultations that are being carried out by particular parties are based on the need to create a coalition. The president expressed the hope that these talks will help create a government that can begin work. There was also talk of the options for creating a cabinet that were presented earlier by Lech Walesa. In a communique issued after the talks, we read that the president stressed the significance of the existence of a strong executive authority that will have a fundamental meaning in the face of the tasks that have been placed before Parliament and the government after the first democratic and free elections to the Sejm and the Senate.

Social Democrat Leader Sees No Walesa Support

AU0311213291 Vienna KURIER in German 3 Nov 91 p 3

[Gabor Nemes report on "exclusive" interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, head of the Social Democrats, in Warsaw; date not given: "The Poles Reject Walesa's Reforms"]

[Text] The "Alliance of the Democratic Left" emerged as the second-strongest party in recent elections in Poland. Aleksander Kwasniewski, head of the Social Democrats, which are the backbone of the Alliance, made the following statements in an interview:

—On his party's surprising success: "People are frustrated and tired of the economic situation and of the promises of those in power. This is the second signal to the leaders. The first was the presidential elections. It

has once more become clear that there is no support for the economic and leadership concept realized by Walesa and his aides. In addition, the slogan of the 'decommunisation' only mobilized our voters."

—On the longing of Poles for the good old times: "These elections have often been described as a struggle between the past and the future, between reformers and counterreformers. This is not true. People want changes toward democracy and the free market economy, but they want efficient and calm changes."

—On sharing the opposition role with right-wing parties: "We were the first to criticize the economic policy one and a half years ago. We are more consistent in our concerns about the fate of the state enterprises and of the workers. However, show me one party that fully supported this policy. If the current radical monetary course should be continued, Poland will plunge into social conflicts. Then the next elections will not take place in the polling booths but in the streets."

KPN Leader Favors Autonomy From Soviets, West

AU0311212091 Vienna KURIER in German 3 Nov 91 p 3

[Gabor Nemes report on "exclusive" interview with Leszek Moczulski, head of the "Confederation for Independent Poland," in Warsaw; date not given: "Poland Must Not Become a Western Colony"]

[Text] The right-wing "Confederation for Independent Poland" [KPN] headed by Leszek Moczulski emerged as the fifth-strongest force—before Walesa's Central Alliance and the Liberal Party of Prime Minister Bielecki—in recent elections in Poland.

—On the success of the former fringe party: "We expected this outcome, because we are rooted very deeply in Polish society. The Confederation for Independent Poland was the only party that has always called in an uncompromising way for the removal of the communist regime. We never signed agreements that guaranteed the leading role of the Communist Party, as did Solidarity in 1980. We did not participate in the roundtable either. For this reason, even after 1989, our party was not represented in official political life and in the Polish Parliament."

—On the party's program: "As our name suggests, we advocate independence, including independence from Soviet hegemony. Since this demand has been fulfilled now, our most important goal is the formation of a community among the independent countries that are now freeing themselves from this hegemony—a community similar to Western Europe. The new Europe cannot be built in such a way that the rich West annexes the poor colonies, as it were—including Poland. We do not want Western capital to play a major role in these countries, and we do not want to become a dumping ground and a labor reservoir for the rich."

Iliescu, Stolojan Report Local Elections Delay

AU0111213591 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Statements by President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan following a meeting with political party leaders in Bucharest on 1 November—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Consultations took place today at Cotroceni Palace between Romanian President Ion Iliescu and the leadership of the political groupings represented in the Parliament concerning the date of local elections, with the participation of Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan. Here is President Ion Iliescu's statement at the end of the meeting:

[Begin Iliescu recording] We just concluded a regular meeting with the heads of parties and parliamentary groups. As we jointly agreed during past meetings, these kind of meetings are to take place on a regular basis. So this was the first such meeting with the party leaders after the formation of the Stolojan government. During the meeting, the prime minister made a first briefing on several key economic problems, such as the situation in the economy at the start of winter, the situation in the energy and agricultural sectors, and various economic-financial problems that are given priority by the government and are also submitted for Parliament discussion—wages, rights, and various claims.

The second subject of the meeting was a consultation we wanted to have with the representatives of all parties that have parliamentary groupings regarding the planning of local elections in due course. In this respect, different viewpoints were presented. As you know, Prime Minister Stolojan made a proposal on this topic before the Parliament, namely, that if we wanted to hold the elections this year, the last possible date was 15 December.

Consequently, the government expressed its readiness and openness and even undertook certain organizational measures to ensure the necessary organizational and material measures at the central and local level. In the talks I held today, the representatives of all parties opted for scheduling these elections somewhat later, since, in practical terms, there is not enough time to hold them on 15 December—although I must say that it has become quite apparent that the Parliament may adopt the respective two laws—on local administration organization and on local elections. The party representatives, however, invoked the need for political preparations that will take longer than the just over one month left until then. So, in spite of the fact that the National Salvation Front [FSN] expressed its readiness to accept the date of 15 December, because almost all other parties pleaded for a later date, it seems that the elections may be held at the end of next January or the beginning of February. This proposal will be examined by the government, which will then take the appropriate steps. [end recording]

[Announcer] Here now is Mr. Theodor Stolojan's statement:

[Begin Stolojan recording] What was important for the government was that the local elections, that is the date of local elections, should be fixed through the broadest possible consensus of the political parties. This evening, this consensus was achieved, to the extent that all parties, including the FSN, agreed with the position expressed by all other parties present here—namely, that the local elections should be held next year. Although various dates were put forward, the most frequent proposal was that the elections should be held in the last third of next January and the first third of February.

The main thing is that these local elections, that is their date, should be established as a result of the broadest possible consensus, because all our people—and the international community that is monitoring political phenomenon in Romania—do not want the local elections to give various political parties the occasion to contest them under the pretext that they were held too soon, that they did not have enough time to prepare their electoral campaign, and so forth. The government's duty was to clearly present its position in Parliament, namely that, from a material viewpoint, local elections could have been held this year and that the last possible date, so to say, this year would have been 15 December. Consequently, today's consultation proved the political determination of the parties, and I believe this is a very positive thing. [end recording]

Domestic, Foreign Trust in Stolojan Cabinet Seen

AU0111185291 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 25 Oct 91 p 1

[Adrian Vasilescu article: "Confidence Abroad and at Home—the Pillars of the New Cabinet"]

[Excerpts] Any exercise in governing is a construction, and it is obvious that all constructions must have their pillars of resistance, otherwise the respective constructions might collapse. What are the pillars of the Stolojan government?

It seems that the prime minister relies a lot on trust, both inside and outside the country. But then, what statesman who identifies himself with the complex and complicated mission of governing can hope to carry out his mandate without enjoying "trust?" It is obvious that Mr. Stolojan properly understood the "rules of the game," including the most sensitive request for "playing correctly" in all circumstances. This is the "mortgage" that guarantees the requested credit.

However, the most important thing is the "green light" given to him by the political forces in the country. During the negotiations on the formation of the government and after its investiture, personalities from some important parties were heard expressing their confidence in the new government. Others gave it a "blank check," but announced that they would withdraw their backing if

the executive made mistakes. However, regardless of "nuances," one can say that something occurred that very few hoped could happen, namely the government has embarked on its mission with the backing of the largest and most influential circles of our society.

From across the seas, distant lands, and even oceans, a warmer wind has begun to blow and bring about a thaw. The Americans have openly expressed their trust in the Stolojan government. The Soviets appear to have decided to send us somewhat larger quantities of energy, oil, and natural gas. The international financial forums (the IMF, World Bank, and the Group of 24) are increasingly indicating that they will unblock the credits we need so much.

However, the vulnerable pillar of the Stolojan government remains the economy. The reform goes on! There are no doubts in this respect. [passage omitted] However, it is necessary to halt the economic regress, both regarding the quantity of products and the sphere of qualitative factors (labor productivity, competitiveness, and efficiency), so as to prepare the moment for relaunching production. This will be the test of fire. [passage omitted]

The crown of thorns worn now by Mr. Stolojan will only be bearable if the much desired social pact is achieved. This will be the second great test of the trust he currently enjoys. Whether all those backing him now are truly his friends will be seen when help is needed.

Patriciu on PL Withdrawal From Reform Charter

AU0111174791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1555 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/11/1991—Mr. Dinu Patriciu, member on the Steering Committee of the Liberal Party [PL], referred in an interview with the newspaper "CURIERUL NATIONAL" to the reasons why his party had withdrawn from the Charter for Reform and Democracy. "In our opinion, the Charter could have been a framework for talks conducive to a stepped-up reform. Unfortunately, the (National Salvation) Front proved incapable to change the communist structures which exist on all levels and which prevent the application of the reform," Mr. Patriciu said.

He opined that the transition period should be shortened in consideration also of the fact that "the Roman government proceeded too slowly and had to pay the tribute of half measures." As for the new cabinet, Dinu Patriciu said "it was created under the pressure of conservative political forces and its measures are populist and demagogic."

In October 1991 the National Liberal Party-The Young Wing turned into the Liberal Party. It is headed by a Steering Committee at head with an executive chairman who is elected on a rotation basis. Two of the members of the current Steering Committee, Mr. Dinu Patriciu and Mr. Calin Popescu-Tariceanu, are deputies in Romania's Parliament. They were elected on May 20, 1990 when they candidated for the National Liberal Party, wherefrom the National Liberal Party-The Young Wing subsequently emerged.

The Charter for Reform and Democracy was signed on July 11, 1991 by the National Salvation Front and several political groupings of the parliamentary opposition—the Liberal Party-The Young Wing, the Ecology Movement of Romania and the Romanian Agrarian Democratic Party. The document was an understanding in principle "to make possible a constructive and responsible participation in government of all political forces stating for reform and democracy in Romania."

Commission President on Harghita-Covasna Report

AU0111211991 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 25 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Mihai Teodorescu, president of the Investigation Commission of the Harghita-Covasna Events, by Corina Dragotescu in Bucharest on 17 October: "Just Against a Minor Part of the Minority"]

[Text] On 17 October, after the debates [in Parliament], I had a talk with Commission President Senator Mihai Teodorescu:

[Dragotescu] What is your opinion on how the report was received?

[Teodorescu] I am satisfied with the way the report was received in Parliament. The first satisfaction I experienced was when the report was signed, because all parliamentary group representatives in the commission, with the exception of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], signed the report, cooperated, and made a particular contribution toward clarifying things.

[Dragotescu] Did the UDMR representatives contribute to the formulation of the report?

[Teodorescu] They cooperated up to the point when it had to be edited. The moment specific editing preparations began and three to four commission teams were formed to edit one chapter each, the UDMR representatives began to back out and, thus, they did not contribute anything to the report, although we were very receptive to their claims.

[Dragotescu] Before the discussions began, a commission member said into the microphone, "I have the impression that the debates on this document are being sabotaged." Was this in any way a direct reference to how the meeting had begun?

[Teodorescu] All of us, the entire commission, and the majority of the parliamentarians were dissatisfied with the delay in the beginning of the proceedings. No one else is to blame for this other than Deputies' Assembly President Dan Martian, who, although he started the

proceedings after a delay of more than an hour, still had a great deal to say and to demonstrate, mainly procedural questions, that were not justified at all, because our parliamentarians are very well acquainted with procedural things at this time.

[Dragotescu] What do you think of the statement made by Deputy Gyorgy Tokay, namely that the report "is an instigation of 23 million people against ethnic Hungarian citizens?"

[Teodorescu] This is absurd. The discussions that took place today (editorial note: yesterday) [17 October] emphasized that this report represents a genuine white charter of what happened in Harghita and Covasna, which is just and is not exaggerated. We did not change our position compared with that of parliamentary groups and political parties, with the exception of the UDMR, which, surprisingly, even now in Parliament wants to turn what is white into black and what is black into...

[Dragotescu] What do you know about the overnight disappearance of loads of reports from the hall of the Metropolitan Hill [Parliament]?

[Teodorescu] There are several versions. Some people say that, from the very beginning, the UDMR demanded the removal of television, by claiming that a live relay would give the impression of a nationalistic procedure against a minority. I have no proof. Today, I was surprised when I heard that, at the beginning, the UDMR demanded that the television be present, thus conditioning their participation in the debates. Others say that there is an attempt to delay things to await Geza Domokos's return from the United States.

Article Criticizes Defense Council's Power

AU0411094391 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 24 Oct 91 p 1

[Victor Iancu article: "The Supreme Council for the Country's Defense"]

[Text] In the light of the adoption of the constitution, the existence of the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense gives rise to legitimate concern. Does our country (to use the pompous and subversively threatening terminology included in the title of the forum with which we are dealing) need such an institution? From the very beginning, my answer is negative. Moreover, I believe that the establishment of the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense (as I mentioned in another newspaper article some six-seven months ago) will threaten the very foundation of the state of law.

It is enough to examine the activity carried out by this body so far to realize its indubitably harmful influence on the functioning of the democratic state. Let us not forget that in the first communiques sent to the mass media following its first meetings, the words and key phrases were "the Council heard the reports...," "the Ministry of Interior was asked...," "the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was asked," and "the Ministry of Trade and Tourism..." was asked. After such wording was harshly criticized in the press, the communiques of the respective forums were drastically shortened and their language became aleatoric. Reality, however, did not change. The Supreme Council for the Country's Defense continued to be the same super-statal body, an (almost) faithful continuation of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. I have said this before, but it is my impression that this Council was set up with this aim in view. Our "original democracy" needed a body in which the big boss was able to directly distribute among all important state bodies and among all people holding important positions. The usual framework of a state of law does not permit anyone (not even the president) such a possibility. The principle of separating powers in the state hinders any concentration of such powers into the more secure hands of one person. However, our Council solves the problem. The big boss, that is the president of the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense (please note, not as president of Romania, because he would exceed his constitutional prerogatives!) calls to order directly (without the natural and compulsory mediation by the prime minister) the government members who belong to that Council. Thus, the president assumes the direct leadership of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and Defense, the "guidance" of the Romanian Intelligence Service, and so forth.

What are the consequences of such an infringement of the regulations of the state of law? They are numerous and very serious. First, the government is unable to exercise its sovereignty in the area assigned to it by the Constitution: the executive power. A great portion of its prerogatives are taken away by the respective defense Council. The leadership of the Army, the police, and the [Romanian] Intelligence Service is in the hands of the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense. The same applies to a section of foreign policy, trade and tourism, as well as to resources, industry, and any other field that president wants to have controlled and "guided" by the Council he is heading. From a constitutional point of view, the government is the body that is responsible before the Parliament for all those sectors. It has to account for everything that happens there. Thus, it is the government on whose shoulders the responsibility rests, while the prerogatives belong to someone else. A genuine state of law!

This is without mentioning other "minor" aspects, as a certain comrade would say—for instance, the inequality among ministers. Only some of them are members of the Supreme Council... (like before, not everybody was a member of the Political Executive Committee). And another thing, like his ministers, the prime minister is also just a simple member of the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense. He is also obediently sitting on his bench. The idea is clear-cut: there is only one chief in our country who counts.... Can it be that these shortfalls have no influence on the functioning of the government?

The chain of annoyances does not stop here. The presidents of the Parliament chambers are also invited to the most "important" meetings of the insatiable Council. We should know who the commander is in Romania. "What a Parliament! What a government! What a separation of powers in the state! These are things to be introduced into the Constitution. Concrete leadership, comrades, is implemented in accordance with requirements. No one else should come to teach us how to lead this country! We do not need lessons from abroad! And let us not forget that the so-called democratic countries also have defense councils; some are even called national security councils"....

Yes, there are bodies named like that in democratic countries (not all of them). But, in those countries, these councils or bodies, which are of a consultative nature, are either attached to the president, the king, or prime minister, or function only in times of war. In times of peace, in democratic countries, the parliament issues laws, the government assumes the executive power, and the tribunals, the legal power. No one interferes in the affairs of the other, no one exceeds his prerogatives, nor does anyone "invent" prerogatives in accordance with his own desires.

Therefore, dear parliamentarians, completely eliminate the paragraphs on the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense from the draft constitution. This body's sole mission is to undermine our fragile democracy, the rules of the state of law, and to continue totalitarian practices of concentrating power in the hands of one person or, possibly, of a very limited oligarchic group. If, however, you still want to preserve such an institution, reduce its prerogatives to the minimum and turn it into a consultative body or make it function only in times of war (thus, we hope, never). I know you may tell me that there is no reason for me to be so concerned: In accordance with the provisions of the future constitution, the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense is under the control of the Parliament. To this I will answer: And in accordance with current regulations, this Council is under Parliament's control. However, I have to ask the crucial question: How many times during the year and a half of the actual existence of this Council (changes in title are of no interest) has Mr. Iliescu come before the Parliament to account for the activity of this high body over which he presides? Legal provisions are one thing, and their application is another. The communists (like their colleagues, the fascists) have never racked their brains over trifles. Esteemed representatives of people's sovereignty, we are, however, duty-bound to close this shameful chapter in our country's history once and for all.

Remarks by Moldova's Muravschi, Iliescu, Stolojan

AU0211190091 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Statements by Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, and President Ion Iliescu in Bucharest on 2 November—recorded]

[Text] This afternoon, the delegation of the Republic of Moldova led by Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi met with Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu. The talks were attended by Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan; National Bank Governor Mugur Isarescu; Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase; and Trade and Tourism Minister Constantin Fota. The Moldovan delegation, led by Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi, consisted of National Bank Governor Leonid Talmaci; Material Resources Minister Constantin Iavolski; Mr. Gheorghe Efros, chairman of the Committee for Economic Reform; and Mr. Paul Bran, rector of the Academy of Economic Studies and member of the Council for Economic Reform. At the end of talks at the presidency, Molovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, and President Ion Iliescu made the following press statements:

[Muravschi] I would like to tell you that the negotiations we held today at government headquarters with Prime Minister Stolojan—in the short time available to us—dealt with various [word indistinct] problems and their concrete resolution. Invitations were exchanged between the corresponding ministries and departments of Romania and the Republic of Moldova, primarily to speed up the process of the Republic of Moldova's integration with Romania, as stipulated in the intergovernmental agreement signed last summer.

Of course, there are many problems, but the important thing is to create possibilities—particularly in the financial-banking system and customs duties—that is, to create favorable conditions for the economic units both in Romania and the Republic of Moldova to establish direct contacts and even to solve problems without government intervention in the future. The government must tackle its own problems. As for the entrepreneurs and economic units, they should contact each other directly to solve their problems. These are the main problems I discussed today with Prime Minister Mr. Stolojan.

[Stolojan] As I have already said, I am glad that the first prime minister I met with after my appointment as prime minister is the prime minister of Moldova, which has a special significance for me and the country. As for the problems we discussed, some have immediate solutions, others require further examination. However, what is important is that all these problems can be resolved. Mr. Muravschi emphasized here that the economic relations between Romania and Moldova should be intensified because, in practical terms, the necessary conditions already exist. Some difficulties are caused by the fact that, these days, economic relations must increasingly rely on direct relations between economic units in Romania and Moldova. This difficulty makes it necessary still for the governments of the two countries to intervene a little in this process to speed it up.

[Iliescu] I would like to express satisfaction at the visit of the prime minister of Republic of Moldova, at the direct

contacts with Prime Minister Stolojan, and at the concrete tackling of bilateral economic problems, in the context of the economic agreement concluded between the two countries. I believe that both sides are faced with many problems and difficulties in political and economic life, and these steps, particularly in the sphere of economic relations, are most important both for us and for our brothers across the Prut River, so that we can resolve part of the problems facing us with joint forces. At the same time, we must prove wisdom and balance in tackling all problems and finding solutions, because we are situated in a troubled region, where complicated processes and changes are underway, both in the political and in the social and economic spheres, and where difficulties are faced by all our neighbors. This changes the nature of the issues and affects the framework of relations and ties.

Let us just mention the processes under way in the Soviet Union, such as the development of the elements of sovereignty and independence of the component republics, and even the new framework of relations among these republics and their ties with the neighboring countries. Therefore, we should tackle this ongoing process and the development of our bilateral relations by taking into consideration the need to avoid fueling hostilities. On the contrary, we should strive to ensure a region of normal and profitable relations between our countries and all neighbors. I believe that this mode of thinking is also prevalent within the leadership of the Republic of Moldova. We are also striving to do the same. There is one more thing: All the social and political forces in our country and the Republic of Moldova should understand this historical necessity.

Iliescu Receives NATO's General Eide

AU0111192491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1746 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/11/1991—Friday morning Romania's President Ion Iliescu received at Cotroceni Palace the chairman of the NATO Military Committee, General Vigleik Eide (Norway).

The interview was attended by Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu, minister of national defence, as well as by Colonel General Vasile Ionel, chief of the Political Analysis Department at the presidency.

At the end of the interview, General Eide stated such contacts were an integral part of a vast links making programme initiated after the NATO summit in London in 1990. Certainly, he said, the process has political and economic components, being based on relations in various fields of activity. The main contacts aim at exchanging views on the ways of restructuring the military potential both in the NATO countries and in the central and Eastern European states. They are of great importance as they contribute to building a lasting climate of confidence and cooperation. Mr. Eide also showed that his very presence in Romania fell within the context of such contacts, which is a step forward in that process.

Commenting on his interview with the president, General Eide showed NATO's interest in determining a basis for military matters, and its wish to know the most authorized opinion on the situation in Romania.

Melescanu Receives Eide

AU0111174291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1616 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/11/1991—Aspects were tackled of the prospects of Romania's relations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, NATO, in an interview Secretary of State Teodor Melescanu had Friday, November 1, at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the president of the NATO Military Committee Vigleik Eide.

At the close of the interview Mr. Melescanu gave the press a few details on the discussions. "The talks I had with General Eide, he said, was centered on political matters of interest for NATO, referring especially to the way in which Romania sees its security in this period of transition, and the role our cooperation with NATO can have in ensuring our security. General Eide was interested in our opinions on the concrete aspects of the situation in the Balkans and on the main means and instruments the Romanian Government considers important for ensuring its security. I stressed two things, which I consider to be fundamental in our relations with NATO. First of all, the fact that Romania's security cannot and must not be indifferent to the NATO member countries. Secondly, although NATO's position, especially the last expressed at a high level, stresses that the security of all the countries in East and central Europe should be approached in the same manner, concrete relations have not always treated things in this way. Any supply of weapons, any military aid granted to a country in the region can affect subzonal balance, and although well intended, it can become a negative factor as regards security in our zone, in Europe in general," concluded Teodor Melescanu.

Nastase Returns From Asia, Makes Statement

AU0111200191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1837 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/11/1991—Romania's Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase came back home Friday after paying official visits to the Republic of Korea and the Republic of India upon the invitation of his counterparts in those countries.

I paid two important official visits: one to the Republic of Korea and the other to the Republic of India, stated the head of the Romanian diplomacy upon his arrival in Bucharest. I got to Asia after a stopover in Chisinau [Kishinev] when I talked with Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi and Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu about the way of applying our understandings with the Republic of Moldova.

I also stopped over in Tokyo where I met several Japanese personalities and mass media representatives.

In the Republic of Korea I was received by that country's president, No Tae-u, and Vice-Premier Choe Ho-chung who last year paid the first official visit to Romania as foreign minister.

My interviews in South Korea proceeded not only at a political level where the atmosphere is already very good. I conveyed the Korean president the invitation to visit to Romania. At the level of foreign ministries I analysed various questions related to the normative framework of our links and I tabled a package of proposals for economic and commercial ties. They enjoyed much interest at the meeting with businessmen where many South Korean firms were represented because they are interested in the East European market.

In India I was received by Indian President Venkataraman, Prime Minister Rao, and had substantial consultations with Foreign Minister Solanki.

I also met other ministers of the Indian cabinet and tried to stimulate our relations on a specific plane, to see what we can achieve, thus preparing the ground for the session of the Joint Romanian-Indian Government Commission due in December, during which I think many cooperation ventures can be handled. There is much interest in India in the Romanian products.

I had an in-depth talk with the Indian authorities about the kidnapping of our charge d'affaires ad interim to New Delhi, Liviu Radu. Relating to this I also met a secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior with whom I thoroughly discussed all aspects and received the information we requested in connection with the way in which the Indian authorities work along this line. It is a question of great concern to us, and we think further efforts should be made at the level of both our government and the Indian Government. It is my conviction that the problem is very seriously considered by the Indian Government. Certainly, we hope, alongside our diplomat's family and the public opinion in our country, that things will go to a happy denouement.

International

Minister Questions EC Sanctions Against Serbia

LD0211083791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1337 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 1 (TANJUG)—"The European Community's decision to consider economic sanctions against one part of a sovereign country has no foundation in international law and practice," Boran Karadjole, assistant Yugoslav minister for foreign economic relations, said here today.

This would be solely a political decision and an unprecedented case in the political history of this century, said Karadjole in a statement to TANJUG commenting [on] the EC's announcement that it could apply such measures to Serbia. The reply to the fundamental question—to what degree Serbia poses a threat to peace in Europe which would justify the EC move—is missing, he warned.

Yet another question is whether sanctions can be applied only to one part of a country, in view of the difficulties of distinguishing the origin of goods which are produced by companies from various parts of Yugoslavia and which are exported with the label "made in Yugoslavia."

NIN: EC 'Condemned' Serbia 'Without a Hearing'

LD0211081991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1200 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 1 (TANJUG)—Kangaroos may be scarce in Europe but, judging from the case of Serbia, European ministers know much about kangaroo courts, in which they are both judge and jury, writes the Belgrade weekly NIN in its latest issue.

For its "reservations about the proposed solution," Serbia was condemned without a hearing at the session of the European Community's ministers in Brussels on Monday, although the session failed to refute any of Serbia's criticisms. The Serbian representative had only quoted the same principles invoked by the authors of the peace plan, writes NIN.

Taking as its point of departure the principles of self-determination and inviolability of borders, Serbia had said that these principles could not be applied selectively and asked for respecting the will of both those nations that want to step out of Yugoslavia and those that want to remain in it.

The weekly adds that no less inconsistent is the stand of the European ministers who regard a change of Yugoslavia's internationally recognized borders as a lesser evil than a change of the internal republican boundaries which had been arbitrarily traced by the Yugoslav communist leaders.

Has the conference in The Hague been convened to hear both sides out and find a reasonable solution, or to impose a preconceived plan, asks NIN.

Whatever the explanation of the solutions proposed, they still undoubtedly reward secessionists in Yugoslavia. It is inconsistent to preach unity for one's own ends, while at the same time chopping Yugoslavia up into a host of tiny vassal states, NIN writes in conclusion.

Greek Foreign Minister Samaras Holds Consultations

Meets With Serbia's Milosevic

LD0311182691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Today Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Greek Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras and his delegation. A statement issued afterward stresses that "in the course of cordial and open talks views were exchanged on the topical issues of resolving the Yugoslav state political crisis".

Minister Samaras informed President Milosevic about the standpoints which Greece advocated at the last EC Ministerial Council session as well as about the efforts which Greece has been investing as an EC member country to arrive at a peaceful and just solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

President Slobodan Milosevic stressed that as far as the Hague conference is concerned Serbia has so far objected to the approach which treats Yugoslavia as a state which no longer exists, which from the aspect of international law and the existing CSCE documents and principles is untenable.

The Republic of Serbia, the statement goes on to stress, can accept no ultimatums or pressures brought to bear on it. The common conclusion is that the Hague conference can be successful providing the principle of legality, which excludes recognition for unilateral acts detrimental to others, is respected consistently when drawing up or proposing solutions.

The talks were attended by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and the Greek Ambassador in Belgrade Elevtherios Karayannis.

Holds Talks With Loncar

LD0311182191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1704 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Greece supports Yugoslavia in the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the crisis and its desire to find the way out by preserving some form of the Yugoslav community depending on agreements between the Yugoslav peoples and political

factors. This was stressed today by Greek Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras during his talks with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Samaras arrived in Belgrade this afternoon for a brief working visit on the eve of a meeting tomorrow of the EC ministers in Brussels. As reported, tomorrow the Twelve will discuss the latest developments in Yugoslavia including possible sanctions against the country.

As expected, the Yugoslav crisis was the main topic of the talks between Loncar and Samaras. Particular attention was paid to the ways of resolving the crisis in the context of not only Yugoslavia's future but the future of the entire region and relations within it and, by implication, of Europe.

The Greek foreign minister informed Loncar about the EC stands on the situation in Yugoslavia. At the same time he wanted to hear as much as possible and in as great detail as possible about the situation in the country.

Samaras and Loncar agreed on the need to achieve an absolute cease-fire as soon as possible. In their view, both Yugoslavia and the EC must concentrate all their efforts on that since, it was said, no political solutions are possible without a cease-fire.

A great deal of patience is needed to resolve the Yugoslav crisis, Samaras and Loncar agreed. It was also said that the process could be resolved successfully providing the participation is ensured of all Yugoslav nations and all Yugoslav political factors. According to Samaras, most responsibility rests with the Yugoslav actors, while the Hague conference is only a framework for the search for solutions.

Loncar and his Greek counterpart today also discussed bilateral relations.

Meets With Kadijevic

AU0311215391 Paris AFP in English 2140 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Nov 3 (AFP) — Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said Sunday [3 November] he was ready to negotiate at the European Community-sponsored Yugoslavia peace conference in The Hague, "but not in a climate of ultimatum." He was speaking after a meeting with Greek Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras, in Belgrade in a bid to persuade Serbia to accept an EC peace plan. [passage omitted]

Samaras said that Yugoslav Defense Minister Veljko Kadijevic insisted on the necessity for a "total cease-fire."

The foreign minister held meetings Sunday with Kadijevic, Milosevic and with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar. [passage omitted]

Italy's Cossiga, Kucan Hold Unofficial Meeting

LD0411071191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Nova Gorica, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan and Italian President Francesco Cossiga had an unofficial and private meeting in Nova Gorica today.

Cossiga and Kucan, together with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle; Adriano Biasutti, president of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region; and the mayors of Italian Gorizia and Nova Gorica; were met by many citizens of Nova Gorica who accompanied them from the municipal assembly building to the Park Hotel, where talks were held behind closed doors.

Following the talks, which lasted for more than one hour, Milan Kucan said that the Cossiga's visit was very important.

"Italy has given us a great deal of help and is still helping us," Kucan said. He said that the subject of the talks was minorities, and it was concluded that European standards for the protection of minorities were too low. Kucan also said that considering the significance, timing, and circumstances in which it took place, Cossiga's visit is much more than an expression of goodwill. The visit shows that the formal recognition of Slovenia is only a question of time, he said.

Francesco Cossiga said that the recognition of Slovenia is a matter for the government, and that he came on today's visit without the agreement of his government.

Kucan Assesses Cossiga Visit

AU0411124091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] As we have told you in the introduction, Francesco Cossiga, president of the Italian Republic, paid an unofficial visit to Nova Gorica yesterday. He was received by Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, and Prime Minister Lojze Peterle. This is how President Kucan assessed yesterday's one-hour talks:

[Begin Kucan recording] Today's visit by President Cossiga, irrespective of its form, represents an exceptionally great achievement. It means not only that Italy does not ignore events that have taken place at its eastern border, but, on the contrary, anticipates them and actively helps change things in a way that would stop endangering European peace and that would finally ensure something that President Cossiga reiterated several times today and that is the will of individual Yugoslav peoples to influence their future themselves while respecting European wishes as much as possible, although these are not decisive and nobody in Europe plans to exert any pressure on any Yugoslav republic in future.

The pressure to ensure peace and a peaceful course of action is certainly a different thing, something that we have heard today as well. We also said that for this very reason we are going to remain at the conference in The Hague, because we think that we not only can but also must contribute to peace, that is, to the peace process that the conference in The Hague must ensure. We also expect that the conference will also create the legal bases for the peaceful departure of those republics that do not want to stay within Yugoslavia or any other formal (?Yugoslav) community. This is a Slovene decision that nobody disputes and President Cossiga wished us a lot of luck in this respect.

The agreement on minorities was touched upon in particular. His entire activity during his visit to Friuli-Venezia Giulia very logically shows that he visited cemeteries where soldiers killed in the (?First) World War were buried. Then he visited [passage indistinct] where there are Slovenes at the moment and I think that [word indistinct] his thought was that this is what I had to do, this is what we, living people, can and must do and history will judge everything else. He also said that he thinks that the circumstances are such that if the Italian minority in Croatia and Slovenia should be ensured [word indistinct] prospects then Italy must certainly do the same for the Slovene minority because you can expect your people to be respected as much as you are prepared to respect other people. This I think is the entire reasonableness that one should have. We both agreed that European standards for protecting our minorities are too low. [end recording]

Federal

Presidency Accepts Special Status for Croat Serbs

LD0111204791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1941 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency today assessed as "acceptable in principle" the special status for members of the Serbian people in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia as envisaged in The Hague document on a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia, it was announced today. A statement issued from today's session of the collective head of state demanded only stronger international guarantees for the functioning of the proposed "special status of autonomy."

The Presidency assessed as "absolutely insufficient" the guarantees offered in the third version of the EC-proposed document on a general settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. "Further negotiations are necessary to find a more effective solution that would not depend on the will of the Croatian authorities and be technically and legally, under the international community's control," it is said in the statement.

The third version of the Hague document will be discussed at the plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on November 5. Today's Presidency session was attended by four of the body's eight members—the representatives of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro and those of the two Serbian provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo—as well as by the presidents of the Yugoslav parliament and its Federal Chamber, one of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly, the minister for internal affairs, and the deputy foreign minister.

The Presidency asked that the Hague document should be extended to include an option of a "common ... negotiated reorganized state" for those Yugoslav "republics and nations" which so want. The members of the Yugoslav State Presidency also urged the adoption of amendments to The Hague document which were proposed by the Republic of Montenegro and which envisage this option.

The Presidency warned that The Hague document, concerning the rights of minorities, cannot impose upon anyone in Yugoslavia the "obligations greater than those the other European countries have under international documents."

The Yugoslav state leadership again accused the Croatian armed formations of violating the Presidency's October 18 decision on an unconditional cease-fire and unblocking of barracks and facilities of the Yugoslav Army in Croatia. The Croatian authorities are using all means to create an impression among foreign observers and the international and domestic public by "launching misinformation for propaganda purposes" to blame the Army for breaking the cease-fire, it is said in the Yugoslav State Presidency's statement.

Presidency Demands End to Croatian Crimes

LD0311135991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1251 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency Information Service has issued a statement to TANJUG, saying that the SFRY Presidency has been informed about yet another totally mindless and appalling crime committed by the Croatian authorities. Croatian paramilitary armed formations, armed with heavy armored weaponry, have in the course of the last 24 hours destroyed 18 undefended villages inhabited mostly by the Serbian population in the area of Grubisino Polje, Papuk, and Psunj.

This mindless act was preceded by an ultimatum by the Croatian authorities demanding that the entire Serbian population of this area leave within 48 hours. For the time being it is impossible to establish the number of dead and wounded from the undefended and unarmed residents, mostly elderly, of the Serbian villages who could not flee the terror, as well as the number of those who have sought to ensure their survival among the ranks of refugee columns in Papuk and Psunj.

Witnesses speak of horrible scenes of totally unprovoked mindless devastation and slaughter and other forms of harassing the people.

The SFRY Presidency forcefully demands that the Croatian authorities stop committing these acts of insanity which lead to the total annihilation of the Serbian people in their ethnic lands beyond the reach of the SFRY Armed Forces, and calls on the Yugoslav and world public to raise their voice in protest against this unprecedented genocide.

Defense Ministry Rejects Accusations of Cowardice

LD0311224991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2110 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Defence Ministry announced this evening that the accusations, voiced at today's protest meeting of around 2,000 people in front of the ministry building in Belgrade, that the Yugoslav People's Army's (JNA) actions in Croatia were cowardly, were unfounded.

The Defence Ministry said that "one of the key reasons for the use of army combat units in Croatia was the protection of the Serbian population from the genocide planned and carried out by Ustasha armed forces." The announcement sets out that "the level of the genocide would have been much greater than the one conducted in Pavelic's Ustasha state in the 1941-1945 period if the JNA had not engaged itself." During World War Two, the Ustashas killed around 700,000 people, mostly Serbs, in the concentration camp of Jasenovac alone.

The Defence Ministry said it "expects the edge of the protest to be directed at those who openly contribute to the dropping out of Army units and the disorganization of their reserve units. The Defence Ministry sets out in its announcement that "certain political parties and individuals are doing their best to demobilize the JNA combat units."

Participants in today's protest, organized by the Association of Serbs from Croatia, demanded the resignation of the Federal Defence Minister Veljko Kadijevic because of his "indecisive and cowardly leading of the Army".

Representatives of Serbs from Croatia, who went to the general headquarters for a talk after the protest, paid "recognition to the army for its engagement in the protection of Serbs from Ustasha Croatian legion so far, as is set out in the military announcement.

Army Confirms Croatian Forces Using Poison Gas

LD0211174691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1601 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 2 (TANJUG)—Head of the medical department of the Yugoslav Army, Lt-Gen. Vladimir Vojvodic, confirmed on Saturday that Croatian forces used poison gases in Vukovar. Vojvodic told a press conference that six volunteers in the army units, undergoing treatment at the military hospital in Belgrade, were exposed two days ago to poison gases in Vukovar. He added that the Croatian forces threw the poison gases into a house where the volunteers have found themselves. Vojvodic and other toxicology experts at the Belgrade military hospital explained these were "fumy non-lethal poison gases, producing only temporary disability."

Military experts warned that "application of these poison gases in closed space, could result in death." The application of these poison gases in closed space, as Gen. Vojvodic noted, was banned under the Geneva Convention provisions.

The condition of the six poisoned volunteers was satisfactory. They have been transported by helicopter to the Belgrade military hospital within two hours of being poisoned. Some 2,000 wounded have been hospitalized at the Belgrade military hospital since the clashes in Croatia began, said Vojvodic. He added that the death rate among the wounded was two percent.

Slovenia

Parties Reach Consensus on New Constitution

AU0311203691 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Oct 91 p 3

[Majda Vukelic report: "Consensus Reached on the Basic Points of the Slovene Constitution"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 October—Although we wrote not long ago that there were few significant matters in the new constitution on which the parties would not be split, the situation seems quite different now. The work of the special coordinating commission—chaired by Dr. France Bucar, president of the [Slovene Assembly] Constitutional Commission—in which the representatives of almost all parliamentary parties have been included, examined the material entitled The Working Proposal for Achieving the Consensus on the New Slovene Constitution. As some members of the coordinating commission have assured us, the commission through patient negotiations reached a consensus on almost all disputed matters. Until tomorrow, when they will meet again, they must only elaborate on the transitional and final decisions.

The following solutions have been offered for the issues that used to be the most controversial. The preamble will no longer contain the clause about the holiness of life, but will primarily stress the Basic Constitutional Charter that the Slovene Assembly adopted when declaring independence. Regarding the general provisions, the Socialist Party believes that Slovenia must follow the principles of permanent neutrality in its international relations. This solution is close to the stance of the Liberal Democratic

Party and to the Party of Democratic Reform, and partially also to the Green Party. The coordinating commission has put forward a proposal on the separation of church and state according to which the state and the religious communities will be separated. These religious communities will be equal among themselves and their activities will be unhindered. The Christian Democratic Party has some second thoughts about this solution. The foreigners in Slovenia will have all the rights granted by the constitution. However, due to the fear of selling off our land, the foreigners will only have the right to own fixed assets, but not the land.

Most of the solutions on human rights and liberties have been coordinated. The Socialist Party demands that the right of association, especially bearing in mind the formation of the New Slovene Commitment [Nova slovenska zaveza—reportedly an association of World War II Slovene Home Guards], include a provision that would prohibit the organizing and activities of political organizations and associations of pro-fascist and quisling origin. The Christian Democratic Party and the Slovene Farmers' Association and the People's Party remained isolated in their stance on the right to abortion. Namely, regarding the freedom of decision about bearing children, the coordinating commission agreed the new constitution should take over the formulation of the current Constitution, which also envisages the right to abortion. Most of the members also thought that this issue should not be resolved with a referendum, as this is a female right that has already been achieved, as well as a civilizatory right. The rights of the Italian and Hungarian minority would retain the present level.

The coordinating commission will discuss the transitional and final decisions at tomorrow's meeting. By these, they will regulate the date for the new elections and set the deadline for the adoption of new laws on the basis of the new constitution.

The coordinating commission found the solution offered by the working proposal on the issue of the army acceptable. Therefore, it would only be stated [in the new constitution] that the Slovene army is protecting the integrity and inviolability of our territory.

The future parliament will consist of the Chamber of Representatives, which will be made up of 90 professional deputies. The constitution does not specify how they will be elected—by proportional representation, which means that one votes for a party, by majority voting [vecinski sistem], which means that one votes for a candidate, or by a combination of both. This will be exclusively a matter for the electoral law, which the parliament will adopt with a specially qualified majority, that it to say, a two-thirds majority of all deputies. For the time being the opposition favors proportional representation, or at least its being combined with majority voting, while the ruling coalition prefers majority voting.

A state council of 40 non-professional deputies will represent a sort of a "second chamber". The interests of the regions will be represented by 22 deputies, the interests of employers and employees by six representatives each, and professional interests by six representatives.

A president of the republic will be elected by direct vote. The Slovene Christian Democrats and the Slovene Farmers' Association—Slovene Peoples' Party advocate the option that the Parliament elect the president as this would supposedly be closer to the new system. However, the majority opted for a direct vote, especially because in the case of the president of the republic also being the supreme commander of the armed forces, he would no longer hold merely a representative function.

The competences of the state council in decision making will never be equal to the house of representatives. However, the council will have the right to make a suspension veto. In this case the house of representatives would have to again go through the process of discussing and adopting a law that the state council did not approve. In the second round of voting the house of representatives would have to adopt the law with a specially qualified majority. The state council will also have the right to demand the organization of a referendum.

Whether those who are demanding a greater regionalization of Slovenia will be pleased with such a solution for the future parliament is certainly one of the questions that will be given special attention in the future debates. Local self-government [samouprava] will be exercised in communes and wider regional associations. The communes will be given an option to form wider associations [sirse skupnosti]. If such an association is formed, the republic will be responsible to delegate the original competences to this wider association as well. The question as to what should stand between a commune and a republic will certainly take a long time before it is resolved satisfactorily. The authors of the law on communes believe that the process of the formation of new communes could take up to three years.

The text that will be drafted by the coordinating commission will be sent for discussion by the parties. Afterward, the Constitutional Commission will deal with it. It has been announced that we will have the new constitution by the end of the year.

Croatia

Supreme State Council Statement on Hague Plan

LD0311174491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman chaired the 35th session of the Croatian Supreme Council of State. As reported, a new draft of the document sent by Lord Carrington to the Yugoslav republics was discussed during the session.

The Council believes that the new draft contains no essential new elements compared with the previous draft. It was stressed that no consent will be given in The Hague to any special demands regarding Croatia unless they are applied to other republics as well. Croatia will continue to take part in the talks in order to attain international recognition and to ask the world to take more specific measures against Serbia so that the war can be stopped.

The Council discussed a report on the need to consistently establish a legal system throughout the territory of the Republic of Croatia. It was stressed that efficient steps have to be taken in Croatia to prevent any misdeeds by the provocateurs or by irresponsible people who are taking advantage of the situation and of the war to promote their own ideas.

The activity of the Croatian Party of Rights and its party military detachments pose a threat to Croatia internally, and are a direct threat to it also on the international scene. The international public is concerned about the emergency and the activity of these formations which they consider to be a continuation of fascism. The foreign press uses the activity of the Croatian Party of Rights against Croatia and even the U.S. Congress in its discussions interpreted some statements made by this party's leaders.

The government and the Ministry of Internal Affairs must therefore, in keeping with the order on implementation of the ban on the activity of political parties in the armed forces issued on 15 October by Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, undertake specific measures to disarm paramilitary groups and take legal steps to protect our legal system throughout the Republic of Croatia territory, concludes the statement issued on the session of the Supreme Council of State today.

Ministries Statement on Croat Party of Rights

LD0311160591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] In their statement today the Ministries of Defense and Internal Affairs stress that despite its pronounced principle to fight for its goals in a peaceful and nonviolent manner, the Croatian Party of Rights [Hrvatska Stranka Prava] [HSP] has increased activities to set up its own armed formations which have not been deployed so far in organized defense actions in defending the republic's sovereignty.

By their promotional propaganda activities, such as the news conference on 1 November, which serve their own personal and petty political interests, the HSP leaders and its president, Dobroslav Paraga, in particular, have been undermining the republic's war effort at a most difficult time. The latest evidence of the HPS armed formations' [HOS] activities is a tragic incident that occurred on 30 October [when HOS members killed a Croatian National guardsman], the statement, carried by HINA, says.

Mesic Threatens Croats Will Seize Part: of Serbia

LD0211165191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1452 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Rijeka, November 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency President Stjepan Mesic theatened that Croatian forces would reach "even Zemun", a Belgrade municipality, if, as he said, "Serbia continued playing with our patience." "We will take also what has always been ours," said Mesic.

Zemun and entire Srem, a region in the Serbian Vojvodina Province, was during World War Two part of the puppet quisling, so-called Independent State of Croatia.

Mesic criticized Western countries over the embargo on arms exports to Yugoslavia, including Croatia. He added that the West in this way "became also responsible for what is happening here." "If arms imports are permitted, we will obtain it and defend the present borders of Croatia," said Mesic and added that Croatia would also seize parts of Serbia.

Mesic announced that the return of Croatian refugees to Vukovar would soon be organized.

The Slavonijan city of Vgvar, with slightly larger Serbian population than Croatia, was currently totally surrounded by the Yugoslav Army. Fierce fighting for the city, where strong Croatian armed forces were stationed, have been going on for three months already.

Croat Forces Incursion Into Serbia 'Disinformation'

LD0211190291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Excerpt] [passge omitted] It is with pride that we report successes by the Croatian forces but it seems that TANJUG has beaten us to it this time. In other words, the agency reported that 20,000 Croatian fighters armed with the most sophisticated weapons, including T-84 tanks, have been crossing the border with Serbia in the Zupanja municipality near the village of Jamena in an offensive on that republic.

According to the command of the First Operations Zone this is a piece of disinformation which will probably be used as pretext for a new offensive by Serbian aggressors against our areas.

Zagreb Defenses Suffer 'Most Ferocious Attack Ever'

LD0211175791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] All kinds of bombs have been raining down on Pokupsko again today. The entire outer frontline of defense of the city of Zagreb, ranging from Pokupski Ladovac to Skender Brdo, came under the most ferocious attack ever. Pokupsko itself has suffered most.

The buildings in its center which were hit on earlier occasions have sustained further devastation. So, for example, the steeple of the church there has been completely destroyed. The Yugoslav Army has also demonstrated its lack of scruples by demolishing the local cemetery. The Sloboda department store has been hit by another three missiles, the school building has been hit by four missiles while many buildings have also been shattered by guns and multiple rocket launchers. On a number of occasions we have seen entire rounds, that is, 32 rockets, being fired from multiple rocket launchers from the direction of Trebca.

Let us note that at 1457 [1357 GMT] Air Force jets fired missiles on a power transformer in Mracin. There is still no power supply to Velika Gorica. Elektra's emergency teams are trying to repair the damage in record time.

Mesic Welcomes Dubrovnik Convoy in Rijeka

LD0211174991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Rijeka, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—Several thousand citizens of Rijeka gave a cordial welcome this morning to the Slavija ship which has been leading "the Convoy for the Return of Dubrovnik people to Dubrovnik."

Following the arrival of the ship in port, the crowd was addressed by President of the SFRY Presidency Stipe Mesic. He stressed the importance of peaceful areas such as Rijeka for Croatia's defense. He maintained that the convoy's aim has been achieved and now a similar "inroad" to Vukovar should be organized.

"I am sure that Dubrovnik will soon see better days because as soon as 5 November arrives it will be known what the world will undertake to stop the aggression against Croatia. By introducing its arms embargo the West too has become partly responsible for what is happening here. If we are allowed to import arms we will acquire them and defend Croatia's present borders and if Serbia continues to test our patience we will march on Zemun and take what has always been ours", Stipe Mesic said among other things.

Army Withdraws Dubrovnik Stabilization Proposal

LD0211023291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2159 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Trebinje, November 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) tonight withdrew its 11-point proposal for normalization of life in Dubrovnik, a summer resort in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. A statement issued by the JNA operative group for Hercegovina said that the proposal, which envisaged demilitarization of Dubrovnik, had been withdrawn since it "had not met with understanding, and began to be misused."

Croatian armed formations are stationed in the mediaeval city of Dubrovnik, which is on UNESCO's world heritage list, and is under siege by the JNA. The JNA operative group for Hercegovina pointed out that the Croatian leadership was as of now responsible for all future developments in Dubrovnik.

The statement says that the JNA's withdrawal of its proposal did not mean an end to its readiness and good-will to help humanitarian actions, but added that the JNA did not have a new proposal for the normalization of life in Dubrovnik. The JNA's proposal was discussed yesterday by representatives of the Yugoslav Army, Dubrovnik and the E.C. mission.

The JNA operative group for Hercegovina, commenting the presence of Croatian armed formations in Dubrovnik, warned that the Dubrovnik authorities would now have to deal with the "black shirts" and other foreign mercenaries.

The commander of the Boka naval sector, Vice Admiral Miodrag Jokic, said this afternoon that the Dubrovnik authorities would have accepted the Army's conditions on handing over the weapons of the Croatian national guard in Dubrovnik, but the Croatian leadership did not permit this.

The assistant commander of the JNA second operative group for Hercegovina, Colonel Savo Lukic, who announced the withdrawal of the JNA's proposal this afternoon, told journalists that the Army advised the inhabitants of Dubrovnik to "flee those regions from where shots are being fired on the Army". "We will reply fiercely and only the old part of the city will be spared," Lukic said.

Army Threatens Steps To Force Dubrovnik Surrender

LD0111205991 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] REUTER reports that the Yugoslav Army today announced that it will take new steps to force the surrender of the beleaguered Dubrovnik.

As the humanitarian convoy led by the ferry Slavija left Dubrovnik, the occupation forces have indeed taken new steps and again opened fire on the villages around Dubrovnik and on the surroundings of the old town.

After a quiet day, when only intermittent shots were heard from the already known enemy machinegun positions, another attack was launched in the late afternoon on the immediate area around Dubrovnik. At about 1700, the enemy peppered the area of Gruz with machinegun fire and mortar shells, triggering off the sirens at 1710 as a warning of general danger. The fire came from the aggressor's positions in the village of Pobrezje. The shells fell in the vicinity of the Gruz skyscrapers and at the Nanunciati housing estate, as well as into the sea in Gruz harbor. The aggressor also used incendiary shells, setting fire to the young pine forest above the Adriatic motorway.

While I am reporting this, the time is 1835 and mortar shell explosions can still be heard in the wider area of Gruz. Reports are also coming in of artillery attacks by the Yugoslav Army on the villages on the Dubrovnik coast. These villages were today also hit by rockets from multiple launchers and on two occasions in the afternoon by Army aircraft.

In occupied Cavtat, another meeting was held today between the representatives of the Yugoslav Army and the Dubrovnik Municipal Assembly through the mediation and presence of the European observers. The European observers at Bijelo today sent a sharp protest to the Yugoslav Army because yesterday fire was opened from the positions under their control on the boat (?Argos II) aboard which there were the observers returning from the island of Sipan. The boat was hit by three bullets, one of which the observers submitted to the Army as evidence. The Dubrovnik side also protested against the constant violation of the cease-fire by the Yugoslav Army.

An agreement has been reached that tomorrow work can be started at Komolac to repair the electrical installations which supply electricity to Dubrovnik in accordance with an agreed program. However, after tonight's attack on the Gruz area, which is still continuing, it is questionable whether work really can start tomorrow.

Fierce Artillery Attack 4 Nov

LD0411115491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Report by Josko Jelavic from Dubrovnik]

[Excerpt] At this moment Dubrovnik is again being pounded by fierce shelling from land and sea. After a relatively quiet night, in the course of which sporadic machinegun fire was opened from enemy army positions from the direction of [name indistinct] and Zarkovica, the citizens of Dubrovnik hoped that the army of occupation was going to take a rest.

Unfortunately, there was no peace as bursts of machinegun fire, aimed at Gruz and the old city, started echoing from the enemy positions in Zarkovica at about 0900. At 1025, a ferocious mortar attack was launched on Stara Mokosica. Half an hour later the Kantatida area in Gruz and the new hospital center in Medarevo was attacked with antitank missiles and mortar bombs from the positions of the occupying army in the Podbrezje area. As I am reporting, about 20 mortar bombs have landed around the hospital.

Following this latest artillery attack on the very center of Dubrovnik, a general alert was sounded at 1115 in the Gruz and Lapad area. Five minutes ago, this warning was extended to the heart of Dubrovnik. As I report, Dubrovnik is being shattered by the explosions. It appears as if the army of occupation had been eagerly waiting for representatives of the Dubrovnik Municipal Assembly and the EC observer mission to leave the old city port for negotations with military authorities in occupied Cavtat. [passage omitted]

Army Launches 'Final Operations' Against Vukovar

LD0411102791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0937 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Vukovar, 4 Nov, (TANJUG)—This morning saw the beginning of "final operations to drive Croatian paramilitary formations out of Vukovar," a TANJUG team in the field has been told.

The TANJUG reporters were told at the First Motorized Guard Brigade Headquarters that yesterday's amphibious attack by the Army from the Danube cut communications between Vukovar and Borovo Naselje and that the village of Luzac has been taken. Members of the retreating Croatian forces will continue to be mopped up in this village today.

Half of Vukovar is now under the control of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA], Serbian territorial defense, and volunteers. About 50 Croatian forces have died over the past two days. Fighting is continuing today in the district of Bosko Buha, which is of strategic significance because its elevated position, 200 meters from the town center, dominates the town.

Fighting in Western Slavonia 'Intensifying'

5,000 Refugees Flee Bilogora

AU0211162591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] The fighting in Western Slavonia is intensifying. In the region of Bilogora it is a real hell as 5,000 refugees from Bilogora are advancing toward Psunj and Bosanska Krajina. The number of dead and wounded is high. Since yesterday the Air Force has been trying to protect the refugees through their activities and counterattacks. Branislav Bozic reports:

[Bozic] The fighting in Western Slavonia was never fiercer than it is now. Croatian fighters are attacking the positions of the Banja Luka Corps in the village of Bogicevci near Nova Gradiska, near Pakrac, and around Lipik, with all available weapons. They have opened artillery fire at Stara Gradiska. However, they have failed to move the positions of the Banja Luka Corps because the Army has responded fiercely.

It is a real hell in Bilogora. Our forecasts from the previous days have come true. The enormous forces of Zengas and members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs launched an offensive from Virovitica toward Daruvar and Pakrac. So that our listeners can understand better, let me tell you that this is an area where there are no Yugoslav Peoples' Army units. The territorials here are fighting like heroes day and night against a more numerous and technically superior enemy. The situation is so bad that the Headquarters of

the Territorial Defense in Western Slavonija were forced to order the evacuation of the Serbian population from 18 villages of Bilogora. The Croatian fighters have [word indistinct] fiercely at old people, women, and children. Therefore, there are a lot of dead, (?tortured), and butchered people. At the time of this report, 5,000 refugees are arriving at Psunj mountain, where they are being received by the Territorial Defense of the Banja Luka Corps. In Bosanska Krajina the situation is really alarming as [passage indistinct]. In short, the situation is dramatic and the real truth about the massacre of Serbs from Bilogora should reach all those who are trying to resolve the Yugoslav drama.

Major Croatian Offensive Reported

AU0211221491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Fierce battles have been fought on the Western Slavonian front today. The latest cease-fire that the Croatian side has asked for was used to regroup forces and bring reinforcements and fresh supplies of ammunition and hardware. The offensive by the Croatian armed forces started yesterday, on their religious holiday—All Saints' Day.

One can conclude that an action on a large scale is under way because the population of 30 Serbian villages in the Nova Gradiska and Slavonska Pozega communes was forcefully evacuated in the last two days. These villages have already been conquered by the Croatian armed forces, which are now looting the villages.

All proposals by the Headquarters of the Okucani Territorial Defense to the Nova Gradiska [Croatian] command that the entire population of Serbian villages be evacuated in order to avoid more human casualties and material damage, were refused. The Croatian side replied that Serbs have no place on Croatian soil. The civilian population of Nova Gradiska—Serbs and Croats alike—has been fleeing the town en masse. Departure is permitted to women and children only, while all men have been mobilized in armed formations or they are digging trenches. Empty Serbian houses have been looted and have become the property of the Croatian state.

During the last 30 hours of the offensive came from the direction of Crnicka Sagovina, Masic, [word indistinct], and Gorice. By using heavy armament, the Croat forces persistently tried to break through the positions of the Territorial Defense and the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, but failed to do so.

The most fierce battles are being fought on the Medari-Masici road, where the volunteers and territorials have made some advances. They are now about 6 km away from Nova Gradiska. There was no peace in the Novska and Pakrac area either. Grenades have been launched from the direction of Nova Gradiska on Stara Gradiska and the Bosnian bank of the Sava river.

Army Reopens Posavina-Pokuplja-Banija Front

LD0211123891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Report from Sisak by station correspondent Slavko Zguric]

[Text] As I am reporting we can hear the reverberation of strong explosions. The occupation Army and the Serbian Chetnik terrorists are carrying out an artillery attack on the industrial zone and peripheral area of the town. From 0822 the people of Sisak have been in their shelters. According to the latest information available, albeit unofficial, several shells have also fallen on the area of Topolovac and Gusce.

The occupation Army is continuing its artillery attacks on the positions of the Croatian army in Komarevo, Moscenica, and Stara Drencina. Also under way is a fierce attack on Sunja. The enemy Army is using multiple rocket launchers, recoilless guns, and is aiming tank fire at the defenders. An attempt at an infantry attack is indicated.

Let us mention that in the space of just one hour some 250 shells from various heavy artillery weapons have been fired at the defenders of Sunja. The Croatian defensive positions in the Kupa valley area, in Vurot, Brest, and Mala Gorica, and the Nebojan region, are coming under fire from multiple rocket launchers, howitzers, and mortars.

We conclude this report with the observation that enemy forces have activated virtually the entire Posavina-Pokuplja-Banija front, and we remind the people of Sisak that they should remain in their shelters.

Fierce Fighting Reported Around Vinkovci

LD0211170591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Units of the Croatian army entered Ceric [northeast of Vinkovci] this morning where fierce fighting is under way for each house in the village. The enemy has suffered enormous human losses in the fighting. Five tanks and one armored vehicle have been destroyed. The Croatian army has gone on a counterattack near Marinci where it has been pounding the aggressor's forces with heavy artillery for five hours. Fierce fighting is raging in the area north of Vinkovci while Vinkovci itself and the local hospital in particular have been under attack from howitzers and multibarrel launchers.

The enemy has been trying everything possible on the approaches to Vukovar near Bogdanovci to enter the town but without success. In the action it has, however, lost over 100 infantry men and two tanks. An attack is under way in the suburb of Luzac near Borovo Naselje where the enemy is also trying to penetrate Vukovar and to this end has been using a large number of tanks and infantry units.

The situation in Vukovar is deteriorating hourly. The main problem is the blockade and the hospital, where the situation is particularly difficult as it has over 100 seriously injured people who are being pounded by shells and grenades.

Air Force Hits Virovitica With Cluster Bomb

LD0211221491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Today was marked over most of the Bilogora and Podravska region by air raid warnings and attacks by the occupation Air Force planes. At 1600 [1500 GMT], Virovitica was attacked by cluster bombs. They hit the barracks and killed one member of the National Guard. Great damage was caused to surrounding houses and several people were injured.

The Virovitica Defense Headquarters also received a gruesome report on the massacre of inhabitants of Mali Grdjevac, between the municipalities of Virovitica and Grubisno Polje. Djuro Becak, commander of the Virovitica Defense, told us that the Serbian terrorists, who were forced to retreat, set the village on fire and terrorized its inhabitants. The true tragedy of the inhabitants of this Bilogora village can only be verified tomorrow, but there is no doubt that the Serbian terrorists have left behind another testimony of their criminal activities. [passage omitted]

Army Says Croats Open Fire on Banja Luka Corps

LD0311121191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Banja Luka, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—"During the morning Croatian armed forces opened strong artillery fire from Oganj weapons [multi-barrel missile launchers] on the Banja Luka Corps from the direction of Novska", says this corps information service. The statement stresses that fire was vigorosly returned. It has been learned from the corps command that there have been no casualties among the Yugoslav People's Army members.

It is understood from sources close to Serbian territorials that fierce fighting is continuing in the Grubisino Polje municipal area. The territorials stress that Croatian units have both equipment and manpower superiority.

It has also been learned from the Banka Luka Corps information service that a convoy with about 10,000 people from Grubisino Polje, Psunj, Pozeska Kotlina, and other localities in the area has entered the Bosanska Krajina area, where buses and aid are waiting to provide further transport.

Croat Forces Link Virovitica-Grubisino Polje Road

LD0311181591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Correspondent Ana Mudric report from Bjelovar]

[Excerpts] Enemy aircraft today once again flew combat sorties in the Bilo Gora area. [passage omitted] These renewed attacks are obviously revenge for the positions lost by Serbian terrorists in the western Bilo Gora areas which as a result of successful combined operations by the Croatian army are now totally under the control of Croatian defense units. This afternoon Croatian army units from Virovitica and Grubisino Polje made contact on the road linking these two towns, the road which for two full months was kept closed by Serbian terrorists. Enemy forces withdrew in the direction of Papuk leaving behind destruction and burned-out villages. They also forced Serbian civilians to withdraw along with them.

Serbian mothers arrived in six buses at about 1300 to visit their sons captured following the occupying army's attack on Bjelovar who are still in the town. They have been convinced that greater Serbian propaganda is disseminating false information about these youngsters being terrorized. The organization of the meeting with the men went well and having seen their children the mothers from Serbia were satisfied. About 20 names were missing from the list. They are probably the men who prior to the attack on Bjelovar had been sent to the Okucani front together with the Bjelovar Corps of the occupying army.

YPA Says Croatian Soldiers Shackled in Trenches

LD0111171491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Dvor Na Uni, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Members of the National Guard and Ministry for Internal Affairs are being chained in their trenches at the most exposed positions by their commanders who are sacrificing their lives in the cruellest way for their own evil aims, according to a statement released today by the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] operational group for Banija and Kordun.

"We call on all the members of the National Guard and Ministry for Internal Affairs of Croatia who are shackled in their trenches and positions not to resist but to lay their arms down, thus enabling us to free them from the shackles locked by their commanders who feared that they would abandon their positions. We guarantee all those who do so full security," says the statement of the Information Service of the YPA Banija and Kordun Operational Group.

Serbia

Opposition Urges Milosevic To Accept Hague Plan

LD0111160291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO), Vuk Draskovic, today sent an open letter to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic urging him to accept The Hague document as

"the basis for a peaceful resolution of the Serbian-Croatian war conflict and the agony of all in Yugoslavia." "You are dutybound to put an end to a deadly policy which is pushing Serbs in a war against everyone, and is turning Serbia into a ghetto without a single ally either in Europe or the world," the letter states. "The Hague document is not offering everything we want and is asking something we do not want, but it is not tantamount to a defeat for either Serbia or the Serbian people. It amounts only to a defeat of your several-years long, one-sided, and ultimatum-like ideological, state and national strategy," the SPO chairman writes, and adds, that since 1987 this policy has been multiplying enemies for and dragged Serbia into a war for which it was neither economically, democratically, diplomatically, nor military prepared.

"Politics is the art of the possible. What we could have achieved easily without the help of Europe yesterday, we cannot achieve today. You have rejected both asymmetric federation and confederation. If you reject what The Hague document has to offer, then we will not be able to achieve even that tomorrow."

"You have no right to push Serbia into disaster", Draskovic writes. "You better face the reality and Serbia will support you. Listen to the Serbian youth, which is against the war. Listen to mothers and fathers who have only one child, and rest assured that an overwhelming majority of people in Serbia want the same."

"There is no more pressing national task than the ending of the war and a democratic and economic revival of Serbia. The Hague document is offering us that. And only when we develop a democratic, economically strong, and accepted by Europe Serbia, national interests of all Serbs on territories of the current or already former Yugoslavia, will be protected," Vuk Draskovic concludes in his letter to Slobodan Milosevic.

Vojvodina Territorial Defense on Mobilization

LD0111143191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—All units of the Vojvodina Territorial Defense have been carrying out successfully all tasks given to them by relevant commands of the Yugoslav Armed Forces. The response of reservists to the new mobilization, called in order to relieve the currently engaged units, was more than 90 percent, and in some cases even 100 percent.

This is stressed in today's statement of the Vojvodina Territorial Defense Headquarters Information Service, which says that it, with the help of working organizations and the bodies of power, has been equipping the manpower for winter conditions successfully and has been helping the families of mobilized soldiers.

A high degree of unity has been achieved among Vojvodina Territorial Defense units and morale is high. In other words, stories about differences in reservists' attitude depending on their national and party affiliation, are malicious lies. Activities of some parties influenced only a small number of individuals, the statement affirms.

Members of the Vojvodina Territorial Defense, who have not yet heeded mobilization call-up papers, are dutybound to explain their absence. Otherwise, their conduct will be condemned and they will be branded traitors by their colieges, the statement of the Vojvodina Territorial Defense Headquarters Information Service concludes.

Novi Sad Army Command Issues Mobilization Order

LD0211132591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—Today the Novi Sad Army District Command issued a public call for the mobilization of all those eligible for Army service living in Baranja, Slavonija, and Western Srem—particularly those who have fled from those territories—calling on them to report immediately to Army departments so that they may be registered and drafted into Army units.

This is stressed in a statement today from the Novi Sad Army District Command which stresses that Army departments have been set up in Beli Manastir, Dalj, and Ilok to which conscripts should report.

Failure to observe the public call for mobilization is a criminal act, the announcement of the Novi Sad Army District Command stresses, and criminal proceedings will be conducted by Army courts.

Rugova Cited on Kosovo Albanians' Visits Abroad

AU0111181891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic from Pristina]

[Text] Speaking at a news conference today, Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, assessed the visits by Albanians from Yugoslavia paid to The Hague, the United States, and the United Nations to have been successful. He pointed out that ethnic Albanians were on the whole praised for their effort in trying to solve the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful way, that is, for calm resistance as the only means of political struggle of ethnic Albanians. It was even said that three members of a delegation they talked to said that their sympathies are on the side of the Albanians. It was said at the news conference that they were promised in The Hague that Albanians would be included in the peace conference in a different way.

However, the reaction on the part of the press in the Albanian language contains much less optimism. In a commentary carried on its front page, DIELLI magazine states that the doors of The Hague are still closed to

ethnic Albanians. The belief was also expressed that the destiny of Kosovo should concern the Republic of Albania as well. If the conference in The Hague accepts none of the three options offered by the Albanians, there is no way back and the questions of self-defense and preparations for a possible war are opened up. A DIELLI commentator asks what Albanian intellectuals or businessmen who have sent their sons to schools abroad can say about these preparations and whether some people think that somebody else should sacrifice himself for independence and that, as is said, that independence should then be enjoyed by everybody together.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Bosnia-Army Agreement on Communications Links

LD0311183291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Nov 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina has reached agreement with representatives of the Army. Together with representatives of Croatia and Serbia, a program is to be urgently worked out to enable the functioning of communications and road links from Bosnia-Hercegovina to Karlovac and Rijeka, Okucani and Zagreb, and toward Belgrade. This was announced today by Prime Minister Jure Pelivan at a joint session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and republican government, the Ministry of Information stated this evening.

Uzice Army Command Statement Upsets Neum Citizens

AU0111210191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Milan Vego report]

[Text] According to information we were given one hour ago in the Neum Commune Crisis Headquarters from Neum Mayor Ivan Bender, the situation here is rather tense. According to Bender, the shelling of Dubrovnik and the surrounding area or, more precisely the suburb of Stedrice and the territory of Dubrovnik on the Neum side is very much felt in this Bosnia-Hercegovina commune.

All this has caused great upset among the citizens and great tension. According to the mayor of Neum, everything is being done here with a view to calming down the citizens and normalizing the overall situation.

If one adds here the statement by General Milan Torbica, commander of the Uzice Corps, carried by Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE, that the command that is leading the operations around Dubrovnik is stationed in Neum, as well as that about 2,000 Croatian soldiers are also stationed in Neum, one can then see the entire picture surrounding the citizens' upset.

On this occasion, the official Neum authorities issued an announcement this evening that says the following, among other things:

We responsibly assert that there are no other units and commands on the territory of Neum apart from police forces of the Neum public security station and the Neum territorial defense units. The announcement further says that everything will be done to prevent the arrival of any forces in Neum. Gen. Torbica is told that he and like-minded people should return to where they have come from.

Montenegro

Upper Limit of Mobilization Reached in Republic

LD0211090291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0928 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Titograd, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Some 20,000 inhabitants of Montenegro are in the battlefield and that is the upper limit to which mobilization can be carried out in this republic. This information was given during talks in the Republic of Montenegro Presidency between Presidency President Momir Bulatovic and republic Assembly President Risto Vukcevic and the parents of reservists who are in the battlefield in Banija and at Divulje heliport near Split.

The parents are persisting in their demand that the reservists return from Banija to Montenegro and be sent to battlefields where this republic is being defended. At the same time, parents and women from Nikšic are demanding that their sons and husbands return to Mostar from Divulje heliport, which has been blockaded for several days.

The Montenegrin leaders informed the parents and wives of soldiers about the negotiations so far and the demands sent to the Supreme Command Headquarters, stressing that it is not in their powers to decide on the withdrawal of reservists. The leaders agreed with the demand for the reservists' return and informed them that a group of parents and republican leaders had been formed. They are to contact General Kadijevic and Branko Kostic and reiterate that the reservists be returned from Banija.

Liberals Send 'Sharply Worded' Letter to Kadijevic

LD0411124191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0908 GMT 4 Nov 91

[Text] Titograd, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Liberal Alliance [Liberalni savez Crne gore] has addressed an open letter to Army General Veljko Kadijevic telling him that "the war you are waging in Croatia has become bogged down not only in the Slavonia mud, but in the quagmire of Bolshevik nonsense and civil disgrace as well. It is precisely on Croatian soil that the

myth about the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] strength, its general Yugoslav complexion, and its moral reputation was exploded."

The lengthy and sharply worded message to the federal secretary for national defense says that "the Montenegrin democratic public is well aware that the alleged direct threat to Montenegro has been invented so that it could be dragged into the war and international shame as a result of the Dubrovnik operation. Everyone knows that neither the Serbs who are under threat nor the blocked barracks, of which there are none in the Dubrovnik area, are being defended there. The Dubrovnik operation, from which many have nobly extricated themselves, only serves to discredit Montenegro, diminish its reputation, and cause many deaths among Montenegrin youths who alone still believe you," says the open letter containing the message from Montenegrin Liberals to General Kadijevic, which has also been passed on to TANJUG.

Macedonia

Assembly President: No Reason for Army To Intervene

LD0211173791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1512 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Titograd, Nov 2 (TANJUG)—Macedonian Assembly President Stojan Andov said there were no grounds for the Yugoslav Army [YPA] to intervene in Macedonia since the republic was committed to a "policy without armament or the founding of paramilitary formations."

Andov told the independent Montenegrin weekly MONITOR in an interview published on Saturday that Macedonia's case was not the same as that of Croatia, where the Yugoslav Army was posing as the protector of Serbs from the Croatian national guard and police. Andov said that Macedonia was in dispute with the army because it did not accept its present role in the civil war in Croatia and because it wanted all soldiers who are citizens of Macedonia to be returned.

Andov said the Belgrade initiative which provides for Yugoslavia to be made up of those republics and peoples who wish to remain in it was unacceptable to Macedonia. He added that Macedonia "cannot enter a state which would exclude Slovenia and a greater part of Croatia, which would be founded on changes of borders in Croatia by force." For Macedonia, the borders in Yugoslavia are inviolable and they cannot be changed by force, Andov said.

Gligorov Leaves for Brief Visit to Libya

LD0211173291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 2 Nov 91

[Text] Skopje, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov left for a brief official visit to Libya this afternoon. The Macedonian president is accompanied by Jovan Andonov, vice president of the Macedonian Government.

In a statement the president's office announced that during his visit, which is taking place at the invitation of the Libyan side, Kiro Gligorov will meet with the Libyan Jamahiriyah's top state representatives. An exchange of views is expected to be conducted about ways of advancing cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and the Libyan Jamahiriyah in various fields.